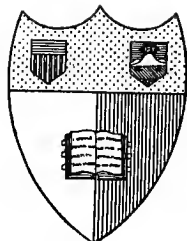




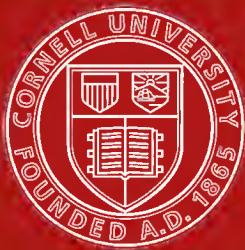
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PUBLIC LIFE
of
ZACHARIAH CHANDLER
1851-1875

BY
WILMER C. HARRIS, Ph. D.



LANSING
MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION
1917

P R E F A C E

THIS little monograph is intended in no way to supersede the *Post and Tribune* "Life of Zachariah Chandler." That interesting work will remain a mine of information for the student of Mr. Chandler's political career. It was written by his friends and contains information which would be difficult if not impossible for the student of the present day to find elsewhere. But, written by his friends at a time when the stirring events with which Mr. Chandler was connected were still fresh in their minds, the *Post and Tribune* "Life" is necessarily not wholly impartial.

In presenting to the public another study of Zachariah Chandler, I ask consideration for three reasons: first, I can, I believe, write with reasonable impartiality; second, I will present Mr. Chandler as a typical product of his time, a fire-eater of the Northwest, the representative in the United States Senate of the radical spirit dominant among his constituents during the epoch of Civil War and Reconstruction; third, I will present Mr. Chandler as the exponent of a system of practical politics, which will, I hope, be of interest to the student of American history.

To those who, by their sympathy and aid, have assisted me, I desire to express my most sincere appreciation. I am especially indebted to Prof. C. H. Van Tyne of the University of Michigan, and Prof. F. L. Paxson of the University of Wisconsin, who

encouraged me to continue graduate work beyond the Master's degree and suggested "Zachariah Chandler" as a subject for my doctoral dissertation. For valuable suggestions in regard to the treatment of this subject, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. A. C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago, without making him responsible in any way for the defects of my work.

Librarians and attendants at the libraries where I have worked, have been uniformly anxious to aid me in locating material. Among these I should especially mention Mr. Gaillard Hunt and Mr. Fitzpatrick of the Manuscripts Division and Mr. Morrison of the reading room of the Library of Congress; Mr. Utleý of the Detroit Public Library; Mr. Cleavinger of the Jackson Public Library and Mrs. Ferrey of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. The private library of Mr. C. M. Burton of Detroit has been open to me with the same generosity which is always shown there to students of Michigan history.

Judge John J. Speed and Mr. H. M. Utleý of Detroit; Hon. James O'Donnell, Edward W. Barber and Geo. W. Kennedy of Jackson, Michigan; Samuel L. Kilbourne and Elias Martin of Lansing, Michigan, are among those whom I have interviewed. The late Prof. Martin L. D'Ooge of the University of Michigan and Hon. Gerrit J. Diekema of Holland, Michigan, were consulted in regard to the Hollanders in Western Michigan. Mr. Joseph A. Labadie of Detroit gave me some information in regard to the French element in Detroit; Mr. Le Roy Parker of Batavia, N. Y., wrote me in regard to his part in the Senatorial contest

in January, 1875, and Rev. Henry P. Collin of Coldwater, Michigan, very kindly interviewed for me Mr. George Van Aken and others in Branch County in regard to the defeat of Mr. Chandler in January, 1875. Mr. J. B. Edmonson, Principal of the Jackson High School, assisted me in every way within his power.

Mrs. Amelia Frink Redfield of Marshall, Michigan, allowed me to copy some eighteen letters written by Mr. Chandler to her grandfather, Charles T. Gorham of Marshall. For this I am especially grateful.

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ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

From a photograph by Sarony, New York.

PUBLIC LIFE OF ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

CHAPTER I

MAYOR OF DETROIT

ON the evening of February 19, 1851, a Whig Convention, composed of delegates from the several wards of the city, nominated Zachariah Chandler for Mayor of Detroit. This was Mr. Chandler's first candidacy for public office. A native of Bedford, New Hampshire, at the age of twenty he had joined the swelling tide of immigration that poured into Michigan from New England and New York in 1833. Engaging in the mercantile business, his prosperity had kept pace with the growth of the State and the year 1851 found him, at thirty-seven years of age, a wealthy and respected merchant with the disposition and the leisure to enter public life.

Detroit in 1851 was "booming." In the four years from 1850 to 1854 its population increased from 21,019 to 40,373. At a conservative estimate it had 25,000 inhabitants in 1851. The rapid growth of the city called for a proportionate extension of the system of city improvements—sewers had to be dug, water-

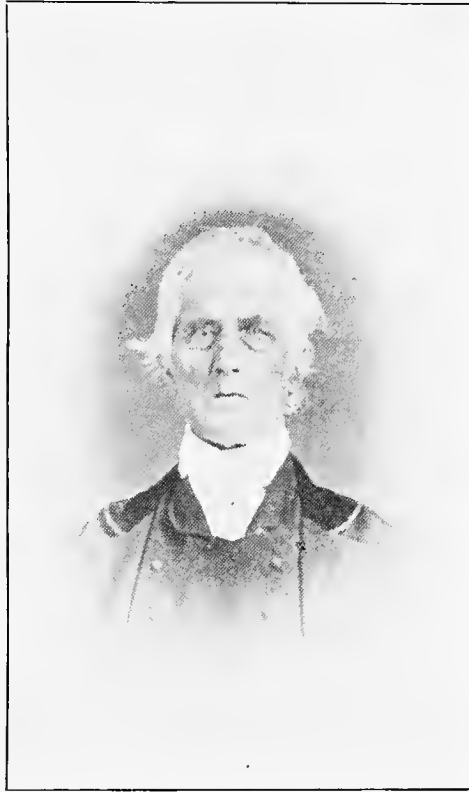
mains laid, pavements and sidewalks built. All this meant expenditure of large sums of money, and Mr. Chandler was put forward by the Whigs as a man who possessed the requisite business ability properly to care for the city's interests. "It is an old and good saying," argued the Whigs, "that he who is diligent and faithful and honest in his own affairs will be diligent and faithful and honest in the affairs of others whenever committed to his charge."¹

The Democratic candidate was Gen. John R. Williams. General Williams was a wealthy merchant almost seventy years of age. He had already served six terms as Mayor and stood high in the councils of the Democratic party.

Detroit, as well as Michigan, was a Democratic stronghold. In the mayoralty campaign of 1851, the Whigs, realizing the necessity of gaining Democratic votes in order to elect their ticket, subordinated the argument of party regularity and relied on the "local interest" issue. The Democrats, who only needed to prevent voters from bolting their party ticket in order to be successful at the polls, strongly urged "loyalty to the Democratic party of Michigan."

Fortunately for Mr. Chandler, the year 1851 was not one in which a governor or a president was to be elected. Democrats therefore did not feel the same necessity for party loyalty in the mayoralty election that they did, say, in 1852 when the result of the local election could be cited as an indication of party strength in the Presidential contest. Enough Democrats split their tickets in 1851 to elect Mr. Chandler.

1. *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, March 1, 1851.



SAMUEL CHANDLER

Father of Zachariah Chandler. From a photograph by D. O. Fernald,
of Manchester, N. H.

In 1852 they stood by the ticket and elected a Democratic mayor. Mr. Chandler's majority was 349.² Two other Whigs were elected; a city marshal by 352 votes and a sexton by 269. Of twenty city officers elected the Whigs gained three and the Democrats seventeen.

The office of Mayor of Detroit in 1851 was not one to attract the professional politician. There were arduous duties to be performed with reference to the city administration and the rewards were meager. The office carried with it no salary, and except for a fee of one dollar³ for each case tried before him in the Mayor's Court the Mayor received no remuneration for his services. Custom demanded⁴ that the Mayor subscribe liberally to charity and to various associations for moral, religious and literary purposes. He was supposed to dispense the hospitality becoming to his station. Necessarily, then, the office was open only to men of wealth and public spirit who were content with the rewards that the honorable position and the opportunity to serve the city gave them. In 1852, when Mr. Chandler's term was about to expire, two Whigs declined the nomination before a third was found who was willing to become a candidate.⁵

As soon as the result of the election was ascertained, the Whigs gathered in front of the business place of Mr. Chandler and formed a procession which, headed

2. Official City Canvass as given by the *Advertiser*, March 8, 1851.

3. Revised Charter and Ordinances of the City of Detroit, 1855.

4. *Advertiser*, February 17, 1852.

5. *Detroit Free Press*, February 23, 1851.

by a brass band, marched to the residence of the Mayor-elect. Summoned to the door by the cheers of his constituents, Mr. Chandler made a brief address and then extended a general invitation to all to enter and partake of the hospitality of his house.⁶ On March 11, he took the oath of office, made an address to the Council and was escorted to his home by several hundred of his fellow citizens preceded by the inevitable brass band. Having made a short address at his home, Mr. Chandler closed with a general invitation to all to visit him the next day at three o'clock.⁷

That Mr. Chandler was a strong party man is evidenced early in his administration.⁸ It seems that the contract for the city printing was a political "plum" that, notwithstanding a clause in the city charter providing for open competition, was by common consent regarded as belonging to the newspaper which represented the party which had a majority of the Council. In 1851, political parties, with a full board, were equally represented in the Council, but the vote of the Mayor gave the control to the Whigs. There were two Whig papers, the *Advertiser* and the *Tribune*. The *Free Press* was Democratic. In the latter part of March, Mr. Carew, one of the Whig aldermen, was out of the city and Mr. Chandler found it necessary to leave for New York at the opening of

6. *Free Press*, February 23, 1851.

7. *Advertiser*, March 13, 1851.

8. For this account I have relied on the *Advertiser* and *Free Press* from March 20 to June 23. The Council proceedings are found in the *Advertiser* as well as in the *Journal of the Common Council 1844-1852*.



SAMUEL CHANDLER

Of Bedford, N. H. Father of Zachariah Chandler. From a daguerreo-
type in the possession of Mrs. Eugene Hale, Ellsworth, Maine.

navigation to purchase goods for his mercantile business. The printing contract had not yet been attended to. With both Alderman Carew and the Mayor absent, the Democrats would control the Council and could award the printing to the Democratic *Free Press*. To avert such a contingency, Chandler called a special meeting of the Council and chose a day when seven of the eight Democratic aldermen were attending a convention at Dearborn. The Council having convened, the printing contract was awarded to the *Advertiser*. This action was the subject of a long controversy. The *Tribune* felt aggrieved that its rival had secured the "plum." The *Free Press* took every opportunity of sowing dissension among the Whigs by championing the cause of the *Tribune*. Finally the Council passed a resolution requesting the *Advertiser* to surrender its contract and allow proposals for the city printing to be received. The *Advertiser* immediately replied, offering to surrender its contract on the appointment of its successor and to print all Council proceedings free for the remainder of the year. Here the matter dropped. The *Advertiser* continued to do the printing and was well paid for doing it.

As Mayor, Mr. Chandler was often called upon to welcome distinguished strangers to the city. No visitor was more certain to arouse enthusiasm in Detroit in 1851 than one who had fought on the side of the Revolutionists in Europe in 1848. Liberty was a word to conjure with and Louis Kossuth and Dr. Kinkel were its prophets. Kossuth, though the streets of Detroit were not lacking in young men wearing the Kossuth hat and feather, did not accept

Mayor Chandler's invitation to visit the city. Dr. Gottfried Kinkel, however, a German scientist who took part in the Revolution of 1848, came to Detroit in November, 1851, and was given a rousing reception. He appeared upon the balcony of the Biddle House accompanied by the Mayor and prominent citizens; and to quote the *Detroit Advertiser*, "Amid the joyous shouts of an admiring multitude, a large number of our ladies (God bless them) surrounded him with their smiles and wished him God-speed in his glorious undertaking."⁹ The address of Mr. Chandler upon this occasion is of interest today because it mirrors the mind of the man of sixty years ago who saw in the United States the land of Freedom, whose mission it was to guide the world to the goal of Liberty. In speaking of the failure of the Revolution of 1848 Mr. Chandler said,

"The flame of Liberty may be smothered for a moment but it will break out with ten-fold fury at no distant day. The people have learned their rights and, knowing, dare maintain them...The decree will have gone forth and will be irrevocable. Kings, Dukes and Emperors 'By the Will of God' must give place to Presidents, Senators and Governors 'By the Will of the People.' Then will those time-honored fabrics of Despotism fall, like tottering walls before the hurricane. When this struggle shall come, and come it must soon, America will not be an idle spectator of the conflict...Gentlemen, our country has a glorious destiny to fulfill. At present she is a beacon to the oppressed of every clime. To us they turn as

9. *Advertiser*, November 26, 1851.



MARGARET (ORR) CHANDLER

Mother of Zachariah Chandler. From a photograph by D. O. Furnald,
of Manchester, N. H.

to the Star of Hope...With us they find hope. What has been done can be done again. *Impossible* is a word almost stricken from our vocabulary. Obstacles do not discourage us. Difficulties but add fresh vigor to our effort."

Mr. Chandler's term of office expired in March, 1852. The Whigs praised his administration; the Democrats censured it. He fulfilled the duties of the office creditably, his administration being particularly successful in caring for city improvements and finance.

CHAPTER II

CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN

ON July 1, 1852, the Whig state convention,¹ being assembled at Marshall, nominated Mr. Chandler for Governor of Michigan. On the first ballot, an informal one, Mr. Chandler received 76 out of 88 votes. On the next, a formal ballot, he received 95 out of 99. Mr. Chandler was not present at the convention, but William A. Howard, Chairman of the Whig State Central Committee, said that he had seen Mr. Chandler before leaving Detroit and that Mr. Chandler had said "he was not a candidate for any of the offices under consideration; that he preferred working in the ranks, but should the convention see fit to nominate him he was with them."²

The Democrats nominated Robert McClelland of Monroe. Mr. McClelland at this time occupied the gubernatorial chair. He was a lawyer by profession and had served both in the State Legislature and in the lower house of Congress. He was very popular and had a ready laugh which caused his opponents to say that "he laughed himself into office."²

The political campaign in Michigan in 1852, however, was fought on national party lines. If the Whigs could convince the majority of the voters of

1. *Advertiser*, July 3, 1852.

2. Article by Isaac P. Christiancy in *History of Monroe County*, p. 245.

Michigan that General Scott should be the next President of the United States, then Mr. Chandler and not Mr. McClelland would be the next Governor of Michigan. Most men vote straight tickets. The Presidential contest being regarded as of paramount importance, local contests are usually decided by national parties fighting for national issues or perhaps for the control of the national administration. It is true that the local interests suffer, but that is the fault of our party system. When national issues are represented by national parties, state issues by state parties, and county and town and city issues by county and town and city parties, our whole party system will have been revolutionized. Hence it was that in Michigan in 1852 the campaign was one between national parties headed by Scott and Pierce, rather than state parties headed by Chandler and McClelland. The situation becomes even more significant from the fact that there were no national issues which distinguished clearly the Democrats from the Whigs. Both acquiesced in the Compromise of 1850, including the Fugitive Slave Law. The Free Soilers alone took a firm stand against the extension of slavery but their numbers were few;³ the majority of the people still clung to the old parties.

The lack of vital national issues separating the two great parties resulted in a campaign of trivialities, personalities, appeals to prejudice, and canards. The amount of abuse bestowed upon candidates for office when Mr. Chandler entered politics must have deterred

3. I. P. Christiancy, their candidate for Governor, polled 5850 votes (*Michigan Manual*).

many worthy men from public life. No sooner was Mr. Chandler's nomination known in Detroit than the *Free Press* referred to him as a "whiskey bloat." On September 27 the same paper stated at the head of an editorial that it proposed to "clip Mr. Chandler's ears a little" and went on to say, "There is probably not a more reckless calumniator within the borders of Michigan than the Whig nominee for Governor, Zachariah Chandler." General Scott was dubbed "Fuss and Feathers," "Old Peacock," "White Feather Chieftain," while Pierce was stigmatized by the Whigs as a "fainting general" and "Candy-man." "Scott Soup and Graham Bread" was a familiar way of speaking of the Whig nominees. On October 14, the *Detroit Advertiser* spoke of Pierce as "the puny, shiftless and dwarfish abortion of a statesman"—and the *Advertiser* was perhaps less given to calling hard names than any of its Detroit contemporaries. The German vote was appealed to by the Democrats on the allegation that "Gen. Scott had tied to a tree and flogged fifteen Germans in Mexico." The "Sons of the Green Isle" were told that Pierce was opposed to religious freedom. The Democratic press tried to arouse prejudice against Mr. Chandler on the ground that he was wealthy, and the "Nashua Letter"⁴ purporting to have been written by a resident of Nashua, New Hampshire, declared that Mr. Chandler had publicly boasted that he had money enough to carry Michigan for the Whigs. Sectional feeling was appealed to. The Whigs declared⁵ that Pierce was "the

4. *Pontiac Gazette*, Sept. 11, 1852.

5. *Advertiser*, June 12, 1852.



JOHN ORR

Of Bedford, N. H. Father of Margaret (Orr) Chandler. From a silhouette in the possession of Mrs. Eugene Hale, of Ellsworth, Maine.

boasted favorite of the South...the South whose jealousy has long been directed to the growth of the Western States." Referring to the fact that the Michigan favorite and real leader of the Democratic party, General Cass, had not received the nomination for President by the Democratic convention, the Whigs derisively asked, "Will they submit? Can they be led by the nose?" Pierce, according to the Whigs, was the favorite of the Rothschilds, and they declared that "The Dungeon-Keepers of Austria shout for Pierce."

Mr. Chandler was a most indefatigable campaigner. He spoke in some thirty towns in the southern half of the Lower Peninsula. He always spoke in behalf of General Scott and the Whig ticket, but he also injected into his arguments a local issue. He produced figures purporting to prove extravagance and corruption in the Democratic State régime. He declared,⁶ for example, that by connivance between the Auditor-General and the State Printer, the State lost thousands of dollars annually on printing contracts. But his success after all depended upon the success of General Scott in the campaign for the Presidency.

The Whigs attempted to make internal improvements an issue. They well knew that Michigan, with her long shore-line, desired federal aid in improving harbors and lakes. They pointed to the fact that Pierce had in 1841 voted against a bill appropriating land in aid of the construction of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. The Democrats, desiring above all things to please everybody, told Michigan voters that Pierce

6. *Advertiser*, Oct. 7, 1852.

avored internal improvements and they told Southern voters that he opposed them. The tariff received some attention and the Democrats continued to wax eloquent over the evils of the defunct United States Bank.

Party lines in those days were closely drawn. There was such a thing as a party loyalty which was entirely independent of the hope of personal reward. There was an interest in politics which cannot be equalled today by the interest in any one thing—not even base ball. Devotion to party resulted in a real hostility to the opposing party. A campaign was a battle with the enemy. “Stand firm, Whigs...Keep cool—don’t fire till you see the white of a Loco Foco eye—take a steady aim, and if the old Scott Rifles do not fetch them, then Gen. Scott is no marksman.”⁷

Since the Whigs had no vital argument to attract Democratic votes or compel men to remain at home on election day, it is not surprising that the strongly Democratic State of Michigan remained Democratic in the election of 1852. The defeat of the Whigs cannot be ascribed to the Free Soilers, for the Democrats had a majority over the combined Whig and Free Soil vote.⁸ Mr. Chandler received some 800 votes more than General Scott and 300 more than the next highest Whig candidate for a State office. The Democrats in 1852 could say as in 1851,⁹

7. *Pontiac Gazette*, October 30, 1852.

8. <i>Tribune Almanac</i> , 1853, Scott	33859	
Hale	7237	41096

	Pierce	41842
9. <i>Free Press</i> , September 18, 1851.		



JOHN ORR

Of Bedford, N. H. Father of Margaret (Orr) Chandler. From a miniature in the possession of Mrs. Eugene Hale, of Ellsworth, Maine.

“We are annually honored with plaudits of victory, when in truth it is but the recurrence of the ‘Glorious Summer’ of Democracy with its promises and its prosperity certain and unmistakable. In Michigan, Whiggery scatters its seed over a barren soil; just enough is reclaimed with each returning season to ‘commence anew’ and we now write their epitaph for the closing scene, 1851: ‘What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue.’ ”

CHAPTER III

THE FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN MICHIGAN

SO far at least as Michigan was concerned, it cannot be said that the Whig party "died of an attempt to swallow the Fugitive Slave Law." In 1852¹ the Whigs in Michigan polled 33,860 votes; the Free Soilers, 7,237; and the Democrats, 41,842. In 1848 Taylor had received 23,947 votes; Van Buren, 10,393; and Cass, 30,742. In the four years between 1848 and 1852, then, the Whigs had gained 9,913 votes, the Democrats 11,100. Figures for the increase in population during this period are not available, but the fact that the Whigs more than held their own in spite of their acquiescence in the Fugitive Slave Law is unimpeachable.

Neither can it be successfully maintained that the Kansas-Nebraska bill killed the Whig party in Michigan. It was the occasion, not the cause of its dissolution. This bill was a Democratic measure carried by Democratic votes. It passed the House on the night of May 22, 1854. The majority² was composed of 101 Democrats, Northern and Southern, and 12 Southern Whigs. The minority comprised 42 Northern Democrats, 2 Southern Democrats, 45 Northern and 7 Southern Whigs, and 4 Free Democrats. The Senate

1. *Michigan Manual*. (Presidential vote).

2. T. C. Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, p. 107.



ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

From a photograph by Brady, Washington and New York.

concurrent 35 to 12. Not a Northern Whig in the House voted for the bill. The great mass of the Whigs of the North denounced the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

The dissolution of the Whig party in Michigan was a psychological phenomenon. The issue of the Kansas-Nebraska bill resulted in a most remarkable outbreak of antislavery sentiment, which expressed itself in massmeetings throughout the State. Such a meeting³ was held at Detroit, on February 18, 1854. Mr. Chandler was one of the signers of the call and one of the speakers who addressed the meeting. The Whig party could have taken advantage of the situation and added to its ranks the various elements of opposition to slavery, but some of the most influential leaders refused longer to stand by the old Whig name and organization and demanded that a new party based on opposition to the further extension of slavery be formed. The men who advocated this course were temperamentally radicals. Their number included Zachariah Chandler; Joseph Warren, whose newspaper, the *Detroit Tribune*, was a powerful factor in making sentiment among Michigan Whigs favorable to the radical position; and Horace Greeley who, through the columns of the *New York Tribune*, a journal widely read in the Northwest, urged the formation of a new party. Conservative Whigs, not less opposed to slavery than the radicals, pleaded for the old Whig party. Their position was ably defended by the oldest Whig newspaper in Detroit, the *Advertiser*. The Conservatives pointed to the ties of sentiment

3. *Advertiser*, February 16 and 21, 1854.

and interest that bound men to the old party. The Whig party had an organization of experienced and loyal workers; newspapers of influence and wide circulation were devoted to its cause. The Whig party had traditions and could influence the ardor of its adherents by eulogizing former leaders—Webster, Clay, and Adams. The Whig party according to the Conservatives had lost the election in 1852 because it had evaded the slavery issue; by taking a firm stand on the issue of the Kansas-Nebraska bill the Whigs could now restore their party to power.

If the Whig party had adopted this course, stood firm on the issue of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and refused to give up its name and its organization, it seems certain that the Whig and not the Republican party would have secured the support of the antislavery elements and would have occupied the place that the Republican party does today.

We repeat, the dissolution of the Whig party in Michigan was a psychological phenomenon. The Whig party, standing firm on an antislavery extension platform, would have secured the support of the minor parties—Free Soilers and Free Democrats. The radical Whigs could have controlled the Whig party,⁴ but because they were temperamentally radical they preferred to do the more radical thing, which was to bolt the Whig organization and form a new party composed of all the antislavery elements.

4. This is proved by the fact that their bolt was a deathblow to the party and by the fact that in the Whig State Convention, which was called at the instance of conservative Whigs, the radicals were in control and prevented nominations from being made.

Arguments to support the position of the radicals are not lacking; they were no doubt tired of being defeated at the polls. Political parties exist to get control of the government. As Whigs, the Whig party had failed. The Democrats were traditionally the party of the "common people." The Whigs were derided as "aristocrats," and as such were regarded with hostility by the Democrats. Under a new name the Whigs would have less difficulty in gaining the support of antislavery Democrats. As Whigs, they had failed to win the foreign vote. "Whig" meant nothing to a foreigner; "Democrat" meant much. Most newly arrived immigrants believed that nothing bearing the name of Democracy could be wrong, so they joined the Democratic party. The Whig party too was believed to be inclined towards "know-nothingism;" and so the Catholics, following the agitation of 1853, looked upon the Whigs as enemies of the Church. "Old names being cast aside, bitter and unlovely associations would be cast aside with them," argued the radical Whigs.

The Free-Soilers were extending the olive branch. As early as February 22, 1854, the Free Democrats⁵ had held a convention at Jackson and nominated a ticket, headed by the name of Kinsley S. Bingham for Governor. The Nebraska bill was passed on May 22. On the following day⁶ there was a conference in Detroit between leaders of the Free Soil and Whig parties. Mr. Chandler was present. An agreement was made which was faithfully carried out. The Free Soilers

5. *Detroit Daily Democrat*, Feb. 23, 1854.

6. *Jackson Citizen Press*, June 3, 1910.

met in Convention in Kalamazoo,⁷ declared themselves ready to dissolve as a distinctive organization, and to withdraw the ticket which they had nominated in February in case a convention, irrespective of any existing political party and animated by antislavery sentiments, should meet to give effect to such principles as were represented by the Free Soil party. A Committee of 16 was appointed to carry this design into execution.

The Republican party of Michigan was founded at Jackson, Michigan, July 6, 1854. Mr. Chandler, one of the leading radical Whigs, was present. He had signed the call and actively urged the calling of such a mass convention of all the opponents of slavery. The day was fine. Delegations began to arrive on the fifth, among them a party of twenty from the Saginaw Valley who had come all the way, over a hundred miles, on horseback.⁸ No hall in the town was capable of containing the persons desirous of being present, so the Convention adjourned to a grove of oaks adjacent to the village; a stone marks the spot today, though the oaks have nearly all disappeared and the City has grown far beyond the site.

A Committee on Resolutions was appointed and while it was deliberating the meeting was addressed by Kinsley S. Bingham and Zachariah Chandler.⁹ The Jackson *Citizen*, giving a synopsis of Mr. Chandler's speech said,

"When in the course of his speech he gave a brief

7. Detroit *Daily Democrat*, June 22 and 23, 1854.

8. DeLand, *History of Jackson County*, p. 174.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

history of the Wilmot Proviso in Michigan, he alluded to the anti-slavery resolutions passed by the Democratic State Convention, in 1849, and the resolution of instruction to the Senators and Representatives in Congress, by the State legislature on the same subject, and then exclaimed that not one of the Representatives had ever been honest to carry them out except Kinsley S. Bingham, a spark of enthusiasm fired the crowd, shouts of approbation rang through the vast assemblage and if any doubt had previously existed as to who should be the man for Governor that doubt was removed."

The Committee on Nominations represented all the old parties present at the Convention. The slate proposed and later adopted by the Convention was headed by Kinsley S. Bingham, formerly a Democrat, later a Free Soiler and now a Republican. The nominee for Lieutenant-Governor had been a Whig; and the other nominations were carefully apportioned among the old parties.

Mr. Chandler's name was not on the slate. His reward for activity in the formation of the new party was to come later. It was the intention of the convention that he should succeed General Cass in the United States Senate. This fact is not to be substantiated, perhaps, by documentary evidence of a "deal," but it is an almost inevitable conclusion from the circumstances of the case. The *Jackson Citizen*,¹⁰ in allusion to the influences which produced the nomination of Kinsley S. Bingham for Governor said, "No man did more to accomplish the result than Mr.

10. *Free Press*, July 16, 1854, quoting *Citizen*.

Chandler, who had many friends himself in the convention for that office." We have already noted that Mr. Chandler referred in complimentary terms to Mr. Bingham in his speech at Jackson. If the highest office in the State was to be given to a Free-Soil Democrat, the Senatorship belonged to a Whig. It is true that the Republicans denied any attempt to apportion the offices among the members of the old parties. They claimed to be influenced only by a desire to choose the best man. But it is equally true that if there had not been a fair division there would have been no fusion. For years after the formation of the Republican party the old suspicion between former members of opposing parties remained. It was difficult for a former Whig to vote for a former Democrat, though both called themselves Republicans.

Mr. Chandler's canvass for Governor, his activity in the formation of the new party, his speech at the Jackson Convention, his work in the interest of Bingham for Governor, all demanded their reward. Whether there was a formal agreement or a tacit understanding between Mr. Bingham and Mr. Chandler I do not know, but the correspondent of the *Detroit Free Press* wrote¹¹ from Jackson on the day of the Convention, "It is said here that Bingham's getting the nomination for Governor has made Chandler's nomination for Congress a certain thing."

The Conservative Whigs who opposed fusion, made a demand¹² through the *Detroit Advertiser* upon the Whig State Central Committee that a Whig State

11. *Free Press*, July 9, 1854.

12. *Advertiser*, August 21, 1854.



KINSLEY S. BINGHAM

From the oil portrait in the Capitol, Lansing.

Convention be called. The Convention met at Marshall on October 4, but being in the hands of the radicals it adjourned without making nominations. The Conservative Whigs had to content themselves with making Congressional, legislative and county nominations in localities where they could find Conservative Whigs to act.

The Republicans perfected their State and local organizations as rapidly as possible. Petitions were circulated by the friends of freedom in many of the local governmental units calling for town, county and legislative district mass conventions. In some cases the town mass conventions elected delegates to a county convention; in others, the county and legislative district conventions were real democratic gatherings of freemen, meeting in mass convention to draw up anti-Nebraska resolutions, nominate candidates for local offices, elect delegates to the convention of the larger units, and appoint officers and committees for the unit represented at the meeting. There were no regular party officers to call such conventions and the work of circulating petitions was taken up by any man or group of men who cared to advance in this way the organization of the new party. No better example of the ability of the American people to organize themselves into effective political machines can be found than in this organization of the Republican party in Michigan during the months following the Jackson Convention. Late in August the Republican State Committee stimulated the movement by issuing a call urging the electors to circulate petitions and meet in local mass conventions, but the work was under

way in some localities before this call was made. To some extent at least the movement was local, popular and seemingly spontaneous.

The result of the election in Michigan in 1854 was the complete triumph of the fusion ticket. Bingham received 43,652 votes for Governor; Barry, the Democratic nominee, received 38,095.

In spite of the increased population, the total vote for Governor was almost 1,000 votes smaller in 1854 than in 1852. This is to be accounted for partly by the disaffection of Conservative Whigs, and partly by the fact that 1852 was a Presidential year. The ascendancy gained by the Republican party in Michigan in 1854 has been retained from that day to this. The outgoing Governor was the last Democrat to occupy the gubernatorial chair, until 1882 when Begole was elected by the Fusionists.¹³

The action of the radical Whigs in deserting the Whig for the Republican party alienated for a time the conservative element of the old party. The leading conservative Whig organ, the *Detroit Advertiser*, early in 1855 began to advocate the principles of the Know Nothing party, but in the summer of that year it joined the Republicans. No doubt many conservatives finally reached the new party by the same roundabout route. A number of Conservative Whigs,¹⁴ however, as late as August 16, 1856, called upon members of the old party to vote for Buchanan to "preserve the independent existence of the Whig

13. Since 1882, the Governors have been Republican with the exception of Winans, Democrat, elected in 1890 and Ferris, Democrat, elected in 1912 and again in 1914.

14. *Free Press*, August 23, 1856.

party." The real democracy of the movement which resulted in the formation of the Republican party is noteworthy. The Democratic party, the defender of the aristocratic social and political system of the South, had itself become aristocratic. The Whig party, traditionally the party of the aristocrats, had come to stand for the more democratic policy of opposition to the extension of the aristocratic system of the South. But the Republican party movement was an appeal to the people to join, irrespective of ancient party affiliations, in a common effort to preserve the democratic institutions of this country and to place a limit upon the encroachments of the aristocracy of the South. The struggle between the Republicans and the Democrats was fundamentally a struggle between democracy and aristocracy. The parties were no longer fighting for merely temporary objects. They represented the democracy of America in a life and death struggle with the aristocracy of America. It was Democracy against Despotism; Liberty against Slavery; the manufacturing and trading spirit of the North against the agricultural aristocracy of the South—an antagonism which lay in the nature of things.¹⁵

15. Buckle, *History of Civilization*, II, 245.

CHAPTER IV

THE BASIS OF MICHIGAN POLITICS

THAT the antislavery sentiment of Michigan expressed itself in the formation of the Republican party rather than enrolled under the banner of the Whigs is perhaps a matter of no great moment. A political party in the face of a great crisis is a means and not an end. It furnishes the organization without which sentiment and convictions are futile to accomplish political ends. Michigan was antislavery and was bound to express itself through the agency of a political party devoted to the cause of freedom in the Territories.

Love of freedom was inherent in the people of Michigan. They lived in the North, where slavery was unknown. They lived in the West, where honest toil was not despised. They resented the distinction between employer and employed, master and servant black or white, which was characteristic of the slavery system. They read the story of Keating, the Irish waiter, who was shot in a Washington hotel by Herbert, a member of Congress from California, formerly of South Carolina, for refusing to serve a meal after hours and failing to show that deference which the Southerner demanded of a servant, white or black. They asked themselves whether a system which produced such insolence should be extended to the Far West—the Far West where the people of the North

were wont to picture "the future homes of an advancing and splendid civilization." Introduce slavery into those fertile regions and "the vision of peaceful groups of free laborers" would be changed into the "contemplation of black gangs of slaves."¹ Slavery stood for aristocracy, both social and political; freedom meant democracy. The South as well as the North desired to extend its own peculiar type of civilization, and this propagandist spirit was especially characteristic of the Northwest. Enjoying, themselves, the blessings of freedom, the peoples of the Northwest desired to extend a like boon to the future population of the western Territories. They had sympathized with the oppressed of Europe, and they now saw the inconsistency of pointing to the tyranny of Russia and Austria while the slaveocracy was extending its power and influence in their own land. Politically, the question was whether "intelligence or property should rule;" socially, it was whether the laborer should be slave or free.

The great bulk of the people of Michigan were farmers. Throughout the southern half of the Lower Peninsula the hardy and aggressive emigrants from New York and New England were engaged in agriculture. The small but thriving villages scattered here and there were recruited from the same stock and dominated by the same sentiments as their rural neighbors. This population was filled with the spirit of liberty, and love for free institutions. It was here that the antislavery sentiment was strongest, and that

1. Article in *Putnam's*, September, 1854, "Our Parties and Politics."

the strength of the Republican party lay; and it was in the northwestern part of this agricultural area that the largest Republican majorities were given. In 1856 Manistee,² a new county, populated by hardy pioneers and lumbermen, unvisited by stump speakers and without efficient mail service, gave 13 votes for Buchanan and 185 for Fremont—none for Fillmore.

In general, however, the strength of the Republican party lay in the prosperous farming districts of the central, southern and western parts of the State. It was in these parts that the weekly newspaper was most carefully read and discussed. The *New York Tribune* was especially popular with former New Yorkers. It was estimated³ in 1856 that 35,000 Republican newspapers reached the firesides of the farmers of this region and that at least 10,000 religious papers went into the same homes.

Religion played an important part in the lives of these agriculturists, and the churches and religious papers which they supported were all arrayed on the side of freedom. In the *Detroit Tribune* of December 8, 1856, a writer after speaking of the increase in the number of Baptists in the Northwest quotes a complaint of the *Detroit Free Press* in regard to the activity of the Baptist ministers in the campaign of 1856, saying, "Most of its pulpits have been converted into political rostrums and its journals with which we are acquainted, are the vilest of political partisan sheets." General Cass speaking before a grand Democratic

2. The vote was not officially reported in the *Manual*. See *Advertiser*, Dec. 6, 1856.

3. By the *Advertiser*, July 2, 1856.

mass meeting at Kalamazoo in September, 1856, said,⁴ "It is a bad sign to see clergymen entering into politics. This I say in sorrow. It is their business to distribute the gospel and not Sharpe's rifles." The Sunday-school papers of the Methodists⁵ contained stories of Kansas outrages.

The conservative influences which center in large cities and money centers were weak in these regions. Capital was scarce, manufacturing was in its infancy. The poorest felt himself on an equality with the best and all were equally engaged in exploiting the resources of a new and fertile soil.

Soil and climate, social and industrial life, historical traditions, political interests and religious convictions all combined to array the Northwest on the side of freedom. The people of Michigan were immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. The immigrants from the older States were the hardy offshoots from a race of immigrants who in years gone by had in many instances braved the perils of the wilderness and the privations of new settlements.⁶ Such men possessed in a degree never before surpassed the courage and moral force which fitted them to exert a commanding influence. The West is always radical, and in a crisis such as the slavery question which touched their deepest sentiments and interests the people of the Northwest were certain to become a powerful factor in the councils of the nation.

No man more truly represented this radical spirit of

4. *Free Press*, September 7, 1856.

5. *Free Press*, July 6, 1856.

6. *Free Press*, May 16, 1862, quoting N. Y. *World* of May 14.

the Northwest than did Zachariah Chandler. Himself an immigrant and the descendant of immigrants, he was the embodiment of Michigan Republicanism. He had "that coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless nervous energy, that dominant individualism and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes from freedom"⁷—traits of the frontier or "traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier." At a later time when he represented Michigan in the Senate, on the problems of the war and reconstruction he was never behind and rarely too far in advance of the position of his constituents to command their enthusiastic support. His votes in the Senate were almost uniformly applauded, and represented as did his speeches both in the Senate and on the stump, not only his individual convictions, but the dominant sentiment of Michigan Republicanism.

The Democratic party in Michigan found its chief support in the southeastern counties and in the extreme northern counties of the Lower Peninsula, and in some parts of the Upper Peninsula. Wayne County,⁸ including Detroit, could almost always be depended upon for a Democratic majority and the neighboring counties found the Democrats formidable opponents. The northernmost counties of Emmet and Cheboygan

7. Turner, in *Amer. Hist. Assn., Report*, 1893.

8. In 1860, according to the 8th U. S. Census, Vol. "Pop." p. 247, Wayne County contained 44,771 native born and 29,103 foreign born.

were strongly Democratic, as were the neighboring counties in the Upper Peninsula—Mackinac and Chippewa.

"Democracy is a name that charms," and the foreign element upon arriving in this country usually allied itself with the Democratic party. The Irish were almost uniformly Democrats. They seemed to have little sympathy with the antislavery extension agitation. They usually settled in cities. In Detroit they found the Democratic party supreme, and as they are a people who take naturally to politics they secured from this party a fair share of the rewards due them for their support. They are a clannish race, and their tendency to stick together in the support of any Irish candidate, their ability to deliver a "solid Irish vote" made them an important factor in politics. The Irish too were Catholics, and in Detroit, at least, the leading Catholic clergy were Democrats, worked through that party to gain their political ends,⁹ and undoubtedly exercised considerable influence over the votes of their parishioners.

The French element was descended from emigrants who had left France a century or more before. They were an humble folk for the most part, many of them being small farmers along the Detroit River. They seem to have been almost entirely unaffected by the democratic movements of the nineteenth century and to have exerted no appreciable influence on Michigan politics; they were not interested in the slavery ques-

9. The Catholics claimed for Detroit a Catholic population of 20,000 souls in a total of 60,000. *Tribune*, November 13, 1856, quoting *The Vindicator*.

tion and when they voted at all, being Catholics, they generally voted the Democratic ticket.

The Germans, Democrats at first, soon allied themselves in large numbers with the Republican¹⁰ party. They settled on farms rather than in the towns. They were full of the spirit of "Liberty and Union." Most of them came to America after the Revolution of 1848. Their personal experiences with tyranny in the Fatherland, and their historical traditions, caused them to join the party of freedom and union.

The Hollanders¹¹ too, at first Democrats, were naturally hostile to slavery. Their love of liberty was intense. They were a political power in the western part of the State, particularly in Ottawa, Allegan and Kent Counties. They had emigrated from Holland in the forties because of religious persecution, and settled in the wilderness in Western Michigan. Their leader was Rev. A. C. Van Raalte who sent three sons to the war and preached and spoke against slavery and for the preservation of the Union. The history of the Dutch people is the history of a struggle for "Liberty and Union." It is not strange that the Dutch of Michigan, finding that "Democracy" was not "democracy," shifted their votes to the Republican party.

There was a conservative element scattered throughout the State that voted with the Democratic party. It was perhaps with reference to this that Mr. Chandler

10. By 1860, this change was well under way.

11. On the Dutch in Michigan, see article by Prof. D'Ooge in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, "Dutch Pioneers of Michigan," also *Detroit Tribune*, Sept. 19, 1872, and other papers about same date. Quarter-Centennial held about that time.

wrote to Charles T. Gorham after the election of 1862, "The Catholic Church was solid against us *and at least four-fifths of the Episcopal.*"¹² Although the Episcopal Church as an organized body did not ally itself on the side of the Democratic party, it probably included among its members many of the wealthier class of Detroit society, whose conservative instincts and quicker sympathy with Southern aristocracy led them to prefer peace with compromise to civil war.

The counties of Emmet, Cheboygan, Chippewa, Mackinac, Delta, Keweenaw, Houghton and Ontonagon in the far north, seem to have had little interest in politics. The population, largely foreign, was engaged in fishing, mining and lumbering. Transportation was slow, the mails were few and far between, the best stump speakers never reached them. They were outside the pale of political strife and continued to vote the Democratic ticket. Menominee and Marquette, however, in the Northern Peninsula were Republican. In lumbering and mining districts a vote often loses its significance for us from the fact that the men voted as they were told. I have been informed that Delos A. Blodgett who lumbered along the Muskegon River was so popular with his men throughout that region that they were glad to accommodate him by voting the Republican ticket.

No statement of the basis of Michigan politics would be complete without mention of the strong Union sentiment that pervaded all ranks of society. In the words of the *Detroit Advertiser*,¹³ "It is to us like air

12. The italics are the writer's.

13. *Advertiser*, May 4, 1854.

we breathe or the water we drink—an indispensable element of our existence; and as human beings, we can live as well without air or water as can the component parts of our Republic live without the union of our States."

CHAPTER V

ELECTED TO SUCCEED LEWIS CASS IN SENATE

IN the campaign of 1856 the Democratic party of Michigan stood firm on the issue of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. They deplored slavery as an institution but claimed for the people of the Territories, preparatory to their admission to the Union, the right to determine for themselves whether or not they would be slave or free.

By this, the doctrine of the Nicholson Letter (the work of the leader of Michigan Democracy, General Cass), the Democrats hoped to maintain themselves in power. They hoped to win Northern votes by their adherence to the principle of "local self-government" and Southern votes by opening up new territory to the "peculiar institution" of the South. They were trying to serve two masters, Freedom and Slavery.

But the Northwest was aroused. It had done with compromise. In its effort to keep its power in the South the Democratic party of the North had gone on bending the knee, compromising, conceding to the demands of the slaveocracy, until it had become unrepresentative of the spirit of the North.

The Democrats believed that the principle of "non-intervention by Congress" would stifle all further agitation. The young, aggressive, radical Republican party did not care whether agitation stopped or not. Their fighting blood was aroused and they had

done with compromise. In 1856¹ the Republicans of Michigan carried the State by a majority of 19,623 votes for Fremont.

The senatorial term of Lewis Cass expired on the 4th of March, 1857. His public career had been a long and eminently honorable one, but he was old in years and represented ideas which had lost their hold upon the people of Michigan. With the formation of the Republican party, a party of younger men, virile, enthusiastic and earnest, a party having nothing to lose and everything to gain, longing for place and power but also bent on teaching the South that they at least were not to be bullied into concessions—with the formation of such a party and with its victory in the elections, the doom of Cass was written. High-minded, scholarly, patriotic statesman that he was, Lewis Cass had outlived his time.

The Legislature of Michigan met early in January, 1857. The most important question before the members was the election of a United States Senator. The Republicans having a majority of both Houses, the real contest took place in the Republican Caucus. The most prominent candidates were Zachariah Chandler of Detroit, Isaac P. Christiancy of Monroe, Austin Blair of Jackson, Moses Wisner of Pontiac, Jacob M. Howard of Detroit and Kinsley S. Bingham of Livingston County. There was a constitutional² objection

1. *Michigan Manual*.

2. "No person elected Governor or Lieutenant-Governor shall be eligible to any office or appointment from the Legislature, or either house thereof, during the time for which he was elected. All votes for either of them, for any such office, shall be void." *Constitution of Michigan*, 1850, art. V, sec. 16.



ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

From a miniature in the possession of Mrs. Eugene Hale, Ellsworth,
Maine.

to the selection of Governor Bingham which greatly weakened his claims. Austin Blair, never a good wire-puller, failed to secure substantial support. Mr. Chandler was from the first the leading candidate. He had no scruples against bringing a large lobby to his support and openly sought to "win the game." His opponents, ostensibly at least, acted upon the principle that "office should seek the man and not the man the office." There was some attempt to combine all elements of opposition to Mr. Chandler, eliminate him from the race and choose a candidate from among his opponents; the plan failed. Mr. Chandler's support came principally from the central and western part of the State.³ The members from these sections were for the most part young men, inexperienced in politics but radical Republicans. Their votes made Mr. Chandler the caucus nominee and resulted in his election to the Senate.

There is some significance in the source of Mr. Chandler's support. We have already noted that the central and western parts of the State were the strongest Republican areas. They were also the most radical. Mr. Chandler's opponents were all sound Republicans. But Isaac P. Christiancy was a lawyer, later a Justice of the Michigan Supreme Court; Jacob M. Howard was an excellent constitutional lawyer and a man of scholarly tastes; Moses Wisner, Austin Blair—both were lawyers, and Lewis Cass had been a lawyer. These western radical Republicans did not want to send a lawyer nor a man of scholarly tastes to represent them in the Senate.

3. *Free Press*, January 9, 1857; *Advertiser*, January 1, 1859.

They wanted to send a man to Washington who would *fight slaveholders*—a fire-eater of the Northwest to contend with the fire-eaters of the South. They cared little about “experience as a statesman” or “training in the law.” The frontier never does. A letter written at the time asks:⁴

“But is not this question of experience, or of education as statesmen in our country a mere hallucination? Does not the history of Roger Sherman, the Rhode Island shoe-maker, of N. P. Banks who (although admitted to be the ablest Speaker that has ever occupied the chair since Mr. Clay) at 26 years of age was a hard-working machinist, of Wilson who reared as a shoe-maker and acquired *his experience* and skill as a debater while hammering away at his last, prove that the very best Representatives and Senators that our Country has produced have come fresh from the people, upright, active and energetic mechanics or business men?”

The fact that Mr. Chandler was a merchant and a man of little education helped him to win a place in the Senate. His wealth was another element in his favor.⁵ He had made it himself and was admired for

4. Letter signed “Michigan” in *Detroit Tribune*, Dec. 29, 1856—a Chandler paper representing radical element in Republican party.

5. “A curiously significant change has come about in our attitude toward millionaires. In the early days, when our society was less differentiated and wealth-gaining represented exceptional ability of approximately the same kind as that of the average man, mere possession was *prima facie* evidence of shrewdness and *savoir faire*. The rich man was the respected ‘leading citizen’ (with a strong local flavor). He was the ordinary obscure citizen raised to the Nth degree.” Walter E. Weyle, *The New Democracy*, p. 80.

his shrewdness. No doubt his "lobby" and his very "practical" methods of gaining votes (of which we shall speak later) helped him to win, but above all else, his personality was of a type to appeal to the western members. The *Marshall Statesman* of January 14, 1857, tells the secret of his power with the West, "Chandler will never bow the knee to the behests of the slave power, will never *cringe* to the threats of Southern fire-eaters, will never brook the sneers and insults of slavery's bullies, but true to the memory of his Revolutionary Sires, he will battle for the right and prove an able champion of the guaranties of constitutional liberty." And again on January 21, replying to the ridicule of Mr. Chandler's oratory called out by his election, "He will prove no *dough-face*, no apologist for slavery extensionists, no cringing sycophant to Southern braggadocios and no doer of Southern will. If his speeches prove *not to be* replete with eloquence, elegant diction, rounded periods, logical arguments and cogent reasonings, his acts and *votes* will be *eloquent* and on the right side."

CHAPTER VI

EARLY YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1860

IN one respect at least, the West and South are akin: both are characterized by an independent and sensitive spirit that is quick to resent an insult and to maintain its "honor." Mr. Chandler's election to the Senate was due in no small degree to the belief of his constituents that in him they had found a man who would stand his ground, refuse concessions and demand recognition for the claims of the Northwest.

When Mr. Chandler took his seat in the Senate he found the slaveocracy in full control. All that he could hope to accomplish was to champion the cause of the Northwest, to maintain its "honor" in the Senate, to meet defeats with threats, and by his absolute faith in the ultimate triumph of his party, to encourage the Republicans at home to keep up the fight against the Democracy. This is the key to his career in the Senate from his entrance in 1857 until the election of 1860 and the withdrawal of Southern members left the Republicans in full control.

In the appointment of the Senate Committees in December, 1857, the Northwest was practically ignored; out of fifteen committees that did all the business, thirteen had Southern chairmen. The Committee on Commerce, of vital importance to Mr. Chandler's constituents, was composed entirely of

Eastern and Southern men: Clay of Arkansas, Benjamin of Louisiana, Bigler of Pennsylvania, Toombs of Georgia, Reid of North Carolina, Allan of Rhode Island and Hamlin of Maine.¹ Hamlin of Maine, Doolittle of Wisconsin and Chandler of Michigan, arraigned the Democrats in bitter terms for monopolizing the memberships of the standing committees. Mr. Chandler closed his speech with a threat: "But we would say to the gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber, you have the power to-day; you can elect your committees as you see fit. . . . but, gentlemen, beware! for the day is not far distant when the measure you mete out to us to-day shall be meted to you again."²

On March 12, 1858, Mr. Chandler delivered a carefully prepared address on Kansas affairs.³ The Washington correspondent of the *Detroit Tribune*⁴ wrote, "Passing to President Buchanan, he said that when he attempted to force a constitution⁵ on an unwilling people, he was no longer James Buchanan, President, but James Buchanan, criminal. . . . Should he attempt it and blood be shed, he would be liable to impeachment and liable to be hanged as a murderer." Quoting an extract from Senator Hammond's "Mudsill" speech, he replied to it with force, quoting Southern writers to prove the degraded condition of the whites at the South and closing with a spirited defence of the Northern working, man.

1. *Cong. Globe*, 1st Session, 35th Cong., p. 38.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

3. *Ibid.*, P. II, p. 1086-1093.

4. *Detroit Tribune*, March 13, 1858.

5. Referring to the Lecompton Constitution.

During the session, Mr. Chandler took every opportunity to secure an appropriation for deepening the channel at the St. Clair Flats. Southern hostility to the principle of internal improvements and Southern jealousy of the growth of the Northwest defeated his efforts. During the debate Mr. Chandler exclaimed.⁶ "I want to have the yeas and nays upon it. I want to see who is friendly to the great North-West and who is not; for we are about to make our last prayer here. The time is not far distant when, instead of coming here and begging for our rights we shall extend our great hands and take the blessing. After 1860, we shall not be here as beggars."

In the short session of Congress, 1858-59, Mr. Chandler succeeded in pushing through the Senate an appropriation of \$55,000 for the St. Clair Flats, only to have it vetoed by President Buchanan—a severe blow to the Democracy of Michigan who found it difficult to find arguments to conciliate their followers, but a most telling campaign argument for the Republicans.

Realizing that it is always "good politics" for the minority to attack the majority for extravagance, Mr. Chandler made many speeches on this subject during the sessions 1857-58 and 1858-59. His speeches arraigning the Democrats for extravagance and corrupt practices were excellent for home consumption. On February 17, 1859, he spoke against a bill appropriating thirty million dollars to facilitate the acquisition of Cuba by negotiation:

"This money is a great corruption fund for bribery

6. *Cong. Globe*, 1st Sess. 35th Cong., p. 2674.

and bribery only. It is a proposition worthy of the brigand; worthy of James Buchanan The friends of the measure have no more idea of purchasing Cuba under it than I have of buying it on private account. They are to go before the country upon this cry of Cuba and upon it they hope to float into power again in 1860. Vain, fallacious hope. Forty Cubas and three hundred million dollars as a bribery and corruption fund would not save the Democratic party from that annihilation which the Almighty has decreed.”⁷

The 36th Congress opened in December 1859 under the excitement of the John Brown affair and of Helper’s *Impending Crisis*.⁸ In a speech on a resolution to appoint a committee to investigate the John Brown raid, Mr. Chandler ridiculed the panic in Virginia consequent upon a raid of 17 men upon a town of 2,000 inhabitants, repudiated the charge that the Republican party was responsible for the foray, and addressing the Southern members, in passionate words exclaimed,⁹ “John Brown has been executed as a traitor in Virginia, and I want it to go upon the records of the Senate in the most solemn manner and to be held up as a warning to traitors, come they from the North, South, East or West—dare to raise your impious hands against this Government, against our Constitution and our laws and you hang. Sir, I care not whether that traitor be a Garrisonean Abolitionist or whether he be a Southern Governor who

7. *Cong. Globe*, 2nd Sess. 35th Cong., 1079-1083.

8. Published two years before, but only now prominently before the public.

9. Dec. 7, 1859, *Globe*, 1st Sess. 36th Cong., p. 34.

proclaims that in certain events he will raise his traitorous hand against the Constitution and the Union, I want this record to stand and to stand solemnly before the Senate—let the traitor hang. Threats have been made year after year for the last thirty years, that in certain events this Union will be dissolved. Sir, it is no small thing to dissolve this Union. It means a bloody revolution or it means a halter. It means a successful over-turning of this Government, or it means the fate of John Brown, and I want that to go solemnly on the records of this Senate.”

As a prominent member of a group of Northern fire-eaters, Mr. Chandler was cordially hated and often insulted by the Democrats. On May 2, 1860, Mr. Fitch of Indiana referred to him in a speech in the Senate as “that Xantippe in pants.”¹⁰ The gross personal abuse heaped upon Northern radicals by their political opponents at length became unbearable and resulted in an agreement between Mr. Chandler, Benjamin F. Wade and Simon Cameron, to resent any repetition of such conduct by *challenge to fight*, and, in the precise words of the compact, “*to carry the quarrel into a coffin.*”¹¹

In the election of 1860 Mr. Chandler was a most indefatigable campaigner. On October 5, in reply to an invitation to speak in Illinois, Mr. Chandler wrote to Lyman Trumbull:

“I can talk twice a day indoors or once to a large

10. *Cong. Globe*, 1st Sess. 36th Cong., p. 2403.

11. A memorandum in regard to this agreement was drawn up and signed by the three concerned, on May 26, 1874. Three copies only were made. Mr. Wade's copy is given in A. G. Riddle's *Life of Benjamin F. Wade*, pp. 215-216.

crowd out doors with an occasional evening meeting under cover. As to night traveling fatigue of it, it is not of the slightest consequence. Make your appointments where they *can be met* and they *shall be*. I will rest *after* Election. I usually speak here twice a day, once in and once out of doors."¹²

In August Mr. Chandler was speaking in New York and New England. September found him back in time to meet William H. Seward who was entertained during his stay in Detroit at Mr. Chandler's home. September was a busy month in Michigan, with Seward, Chandler, B. F. Wade, C. F. Adams, F. W. Kellogg, Austin Blair and many lesser lights stumping the State for the Republicans. The last two weeks in October found Mr. Chandler helping Trumbull in Illinois.

Mr. Chandler tried hard but unsuccessfully to get Mr. Lincoln to visit Detroit during the campaign. On August 28, Mr. Chandler wrote Lyman Trumbull:¹³

"Detroit, Mich. Aug. 28, 1860.

"Hon. L. Trumbull,

"My Dear Sir: I want you and Mrs. Trumbull in company with Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln to visit Detroit and become my guests on the 2nd of Oct. at the time of our State Fair. C. M. Clay and family will be with me—*Reasons*: 1st, Michigan is one of the *certain States* by an overwhelming majority and therefore no political reason can be assigned. 2nd, If there is a

12. MS letter dated Detroit, Oct. 5, 1860, *Trumbull papers*, Library of Cong.

13. MS letter, *Trumbull papers*, Library of Cong.

doubtful State (which I do not admit), it is the State of New York. All the money, all the effort, all the rascality is to be expended upon that State and we may as well prepare *now* for a solid opposition there for in my opinion it is sure to come. Our Friends are true as Steel and *confident*. I have been there and yet Bigelow of the Post [?] only promised 10,000 majority in case of a solid opposition. This is about 1-4 of 1 per cent upon the vote of the State. I am now talking confidentially to you and sincerely and looking at the dark side. A visit *here* from Mr. Lincoln would react tremendously upon New York. This was a Seward State. Thousands would come from New York to see Mr. Lincoln and they would find an amount of enthusiasm here which would react powerfully through Western New York. Office Seekers shall be excluded and no speech from him shall be solicited. I conferred [?] with several of Our most judicious friends in New York upon this subject & they were all of the opinion that it would be a good movement. The Michigan Central R. R. will place a car at the exclusive disposal of Mr. Lincoln and company both ways Free of expense. I will come to Illinois at any time you wish after the 15th of Oct. & if desirable will bring W. A. Howard & One or two more A 1 speakers. I have this day written Mr. Lincoln simply extending the invitation and stating that I would write more fully to you. Will you not confer with or write to Mr. Lincoln and let me hear from you at your Early convenience and oblige,

“Very truly yours,

“Z. CHANDLER.”

The election of 1860 was a triumph for the Republicans of the Northwest. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa—all gave Republican majorities. The new apportionment of Representatives resulted in large gains in the House, and from this time on the Republicans of the Northwest were a powerful factor in the councils of the nation.

In regard to the financial situation following the election of Mr. Lincoln, Chandler wrote:¹⁴

“Detroit, Nov. 17, 1860.

“Hon. Lyman Trumbull

“My dear Sir

“The mercantile world is in a ferment, even some good reliable Republicans are alarmed and wish something done. Now I have no fear that the senseless Southern howl will affect Mr. Lincoln in the least, but I do fear that this Republican alarm may extend even to Springfield. Having been a life long merchant, associating with this very class described, my opinions ought to be entitled to some little weight and I have no doubt that they will receive all that they are entitled to.

“From the days of Carthage to those of James Buchanan the great mercantile centres have been peaceable—ever ready to *hire defenders*, not furnish them, ever ready to *buy* immunity but not to fight for it. Yet this spirit has not and *does not* extend beyond the suburbs of the great commercial marts. New Jersey is a mere suburb of New York City and has been—of her vote. A panic can be gotten up to order at any

14. Z. C. to Lyman Trumbull, *Trumbull papers*.

time by these gentry—witness the U. S. Bank Panic upon Gen. Jackson and the disunion *Monetary* panic to defeat Mr. Lincoln.

“These panic makers are now being swept out of existence by the rebound of their own missile and *I thank God for it*. The South pays nothing and the Union—are the only sufferers *directly* but indirectly others suffer and I am sorry for it but there is no remedy except the natural one. Let the storm exhaust its fury and there will come a calm. I am to-day one of the large sufferers having over 100,000 dollars in the vortex of business besides a large amount in stocks which have greatly depreciated. Therefore I have a right to speak *as a sufferer* and *sympathizer* and I now say *as such* dont pay the slightest attention to this mercantile howl. We shall be better off six months or a year hence by settling this question of secession and panic now and forever. This is either a Government to be sustained or a thing to be destroyed. If it is a Government let us stand by and sustain it—if a thing without the power of self protection *let it perish* and the sooner the better. These fellows now want concessions to induce them *not to do* what they *dare not attempt to do*. Let us have a regular Gen. Jackson Administration and no compromises or— — — is the earnest wish of

“Your friend

“Z. CHANDLER.

“P. S. My ankle is very much better although I am still confined to the house.”

CHAPTER VII

THE WAR BEGINS

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER and bluff "Ben." Wade were among the first to realize that war was inevitable, but they were not the men to shrink from the prospect. A keen observer of affairs in Washington¹ wrote in December, 1860, "There is only one body of politicians of the multitude assembled here which shows a cheerful steadiness amidst the fluctuations of rumor and of men's moods; and that is the stout band of Republican members from the North-West."

The Michigan delegation in Congress was opposed to all compromise propositions. Hon. Henry Waldron, Representative of the Second District, wrote² from Washington on January 4, 1861: "I do not think that you need be apprehensive about compromises. . . . The sentiment of our delegation is that we have nothing to concede, compromise or apologize for."

Michigan sent no delegates to the Peace Congress. On February 11, Mr. Chandler, fearing that the Peace Congress might agree upon a compromise proposition, wrote a letter to Governor Blair³ urging him to send delegates, "stiff-backed men or none," who would

1. The correspondent of the London *Daily News* as quoted by the *Detroit Advertiser*, Jan. 22, 1861.

2. *Free Press*, Jan. 25, 1861, quoting letter published by a Republican paper at Jonesville, Mich.

3. *Cong. Globe*, 2nd Sess. 36th Cong., p. 1247. This letter as well as Mr. Bingham's is given in *Post-Tribune* "Life," p. 190.

vote against compromise. In a postscript he added, "Without a little blood-letting this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush." On the 15th Senator Bingham of Michigan also wrote Governor Blair urging him to send delegates to the Peace Congress and saying, in substance, that the Michigan delegates would hold the balance of power and could prevent compromise.⁴

Mr. Chandler's letter of the 11th gained him the title of "Blood-letter." It was often used against him by his enemies but he always defended himself⁵ by quoting Thos. Jefferson: "What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be replenished from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure."

Mr. Chandler's speech of March 2 was a powerful one.⁶ He began it with a vigorous defense of the

4. On March 2 Mr. Chandler voted against the Corwin proposition that "no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give Congress power to abolish or interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or servitude by the laws of said State."^a On the same day, he voted against the Crittenden Compromise which proposed to make the line of 36° 30' the boundary between slave and free territory.^b On July 25, however, he voted for the Crittenden Resolution, introduced into the Senate by Andrew Johnson, which declared that the war was waged simply "to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union" and not "for purpose of overthrowing established institutions."^c

a. *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 36th Cong., p. 1403.

b. *Ibid.*, 2nd Sess. 36th Cong., p. 1405.

c. *Ibid.*, 1st Sess. 37th Cong., p. 265.

5. See his speech of Mar. 2, 1861, *Cong. Globe*, 2nd Sess. 36th Cong., pp. 1370-72.

6. *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 36th Cong., pp. 1370-1372.



ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

From a daguerreotype in the possession of Mrs. Eugene Hale, Ellsworth, Maine.

"blood-letter" and then taking up the demand for compromise, exclaimed: "Mr. President, this is not a question of compromise; this is a question whether we have, or have not, a Government. If we have a Government, it is capable of making itself respected abroad and at home. If we have not a Government let this miserable rope of sand which purports to be a Government perish, and I will shed no tears over its destruction. . . . we are told that six states have seceded, and the Union is broken up; and all we can do is to send commissioners to treat with traitors with arms in their hands; treat with men who have fired upon your flag; treat with men who have seized your custom-houses, who have erected batteries upon your navigable waters and who now stand defying your authority Sir, I will never submit to this degradation. If the right is conceded to any State to secede from the Union without the consent of the other States, I am for immediate dissolution; and if the State which I have the honor in part to represent will not follow that advice, I for one, upon my own responsibility and alone, will resign my seat in this body, and leave this Government. So soon as I can prepare the small matters, I shall have to arrange for emigration to some country where they have a Government. Sir, I would rather join the Comanches; I will never live under a Government that has not the power to enforce its laws."

The remarks of Senator Wigfall of Texas⁷ in reply to Mr. Chandler's speech illustrate the acerbity of the debates at this period. "Mr. President," began Sena-

7. *Ibid.*, 2nd Sess. 36th Cong., p. 1372.

tor Wigfall, "it was said by a Scotchman, boasting of his parson, that 'he was a most po'orful preacher, for he had pounded three pulpits to pieces and banged the life out of five bibles.' Of course I do not mean it for anybody....I have observed Sir, during a not very long life, that those who are most in the habit of taking their tongues off the civil list, have another habit; and that is, of keeping their weapons upon the peace establishment.....The Senator says that, in certain contingencies, he will turn Comanche. God forbid! I hope not. They have already suffered much from their contact with the whites."

Late in January Mr. Chandler took part in the debate on the Pacific Railway bill. On the 29th he said,⁸ "I am very anxious to vote for any measure which will secure the building of a Pacific railroad." On a proposed amendment, namely, "And no mortgage, or construction bonds, shall ever be issued by said company on said road, or mortgage or lien made in any way except to the United States," Mr. Chandler remarked,⁹ "I want this road built, and whether it be built on stocks or not is immaterial to me, so that the road itself be built....Sir, this proposition is an absurdity upon its face. No railroad ever was built or in my judgment ever will be completed without the power of borrowing money."¹⁰

8. *Ibid.*, 2nd Sess. 36th Cong., p. 609.

9. *Ibid.*, 2nd Sess. 36th Cong., p. 617.

10. The matter was compromised by an amendment proposed by Mr. Chandler and agreed to by the Senate, "No mortgage or construction bonds shall ever be issued by said company on said road until thirty million dollars shall have been subscribed and expended." *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 36th Cong., p. 638.

As rebellion advanced during the spring of 1861 Mr. Chandler "was furious over the state of inactivity which prevailed. He urged President Lincoln to arrest Breckenridge, Wigfall and other traitors who were making disloyal speeches in Congress."¹¹ Radical pressure on General Scott and the Administration resulted in the Battle of Bull Run. Senators Chandler and Wade and Sergeant-at-Arms Brown of the Senate, were so anxious to see the rebels whipped that they proceeded to the scene of conflict in a carriage, and when the battle began to turn against the Union arms they leaped from their carriages and with pistols drawn attempted to halt the panic stricken soldiers.¹² Undaunted by the defeat at Bull Run, Senators Wade, Chandler and Trumbull called upon the President October 26 and "earnestly represented to him the importance of immediate action."¹³ Two days later they had another conference with the President and Mr. Seward, at the house of the latter.... They called upon Gen. McClellan also and in the course of an animated conversation, Mr. Wade said an unsuccessful battle was preferable to delay; a defeat would be easily repaired by the swarming recruits. . . . McClellan represented Gen. Scott as the obstacle to immediate action, and skilfully diverted the zeal of the Senators against the General-in-Chief." At 1.15 a. m. the next morning McClellan wrote: "For the

11. C. E. Hamlin, *Hannibal Hamlin*, p. 397.

12. A letter written a day later by A. G. Riddle is given in Riddle, *B. F. Wade*, p. 244, note. See also, Cox, *Three Decades*, p. 158 and Riddle, *Recollections of War Times*, p. 45.

13. Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, IV, 467.

last three hours I have been at Montgomery Blair's, talking with Senators Wade, Chandler and Trumbull about war matters. They will make a desperate effort to-morrow to have Gen. Scott retired at once. . . ."¹⁴

On December 5, 1861 Mr. Chandler offered a resolution in the Senate to appoint a committee of three to inquire into the disasters of Bull Run and Edward's Ferry, with power to send for persons and papers.¹⁵ The resolution of Mr. Chandler was debated and he accepted the substitute of Mr. Grimes,¹⁶

"*Resolved* by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That a joint committee of three members of the Senate, and four members of the House of Representatives, be appointed to inquire into the conduct of the present war, and that they have the power to send for persons and papers, and to sit during the sessions of either House of Congress."

The Senate agreed to this resolution by a vote of 33 to 3 and thus was inaugurated the famous "Smelling Committee," or "Committee on the Conduct of the War." The first meeting of this Committee was held December 20, 1861, the day after the House had appointed its members. On motion of Mr. Chandler it was agreed to at once to proceed with an investigation into the disaster of the first battle of Bull Run. The function of the Committee was to inquire into the conduct of the war and to bring out facts which would enable the President and the Cabinet to administer more effectively and enable Congress to legislate more

14. McClellan's *Own Story*, p. 171.

15. *Cong. Globe*, 2nd Sess. 37th Cong., p. 16.

16. *Cong. Globe*, 2nd Sess. 37th Cong., p. 32.

intelligently. This Committee also investigated the disaster to the Union arms at Ball's Bluff, the failure of the Red River expedition under Banks, the Fort Pillow massacre, the conduct of Fremont in administering affairs in the Western Department, the failure of the attack on Petersburg, in July, 1864, the trade in military districts, the treatment of prisoners in Southern prisons, "Rebel Barbarities"—in fact, the field of their activity was wide and their labors were untiring. They examined hundreds of witnesses and published huge volumes of testimony. Whether, upon the whole, the influence of the Committee made for good or evil is perhaps a debatable question. Certain it is that at the time public opinion was divided upon the point. The Senate was represented on this Committee by Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, Zachariah Chandler of Michigan and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee—all radicals. Wade, Chandler and Andrew Johnson were particularly lacking in the judicial temperament. They were narrow-minded and bitter partisans. Mr. Chandler regarded Benjamin Butler as a spotless hero and General McClellan as a traitor secretly pledged to Southern rebels. The findings of such men in a time of intense national excitement were necessarily biased and prejudiced.

17. Some of the testimony on this subject was gruesome. One witness testified the Southerners opened the graves of Northern soldiers, boiled the flesh from the bones and used "Yankee shin-bones" for drum-sticks. *Report*, part III, p. 476.
18. Testimony taken before the Committee upon such a point, for example, as the causes for the failure of the Red River expedition, in 1864, was conflicting. The present writer does not care to say that the finding of the Committee

The inactivity of McClellan during the fall and winter of 1861 and 1862 and his scarcely concealed contempt for "these wretched politicians" as he called them, made them his bitter enemies. The failure of the Peninsular campaign gave the radicals the opportunity they desired. On July 16, 1862, Mr. Chandler delivered before the Senate¹⁹ a scathing criticism upon McClellan's generalship—a criticism written, according to rumor, by Secretary Stanton.²⁰ The removal of McClellan and the promotion of Pope brought the disastrous second battle of Bull Run. Mr. Chandler expressed his sentiments to Mr. Trumbull in the following letter marked "confidential."

"Detroit, Sept. 10th, 1862.

"My Dear Sir.²¹

"It is *treason rank* [?] *treason* call it by what name you will, that has caused our late disasters. jealousy and discontent at the removal of McClellan & promotion of Pope will be the cause assigned but when ruin, death & the probable destruction of the Govt. is the effect of disobedience of orders treason is the cause. I fear nothing will ever serve us but a *demand* of the loyal Governors *backed by a threat*,—that a

was right here and wrong there. From an examination of the personnel of the Committee, however, we may perhaps arrive at an approximate estimate of the accuracy of their conclusions. For an elaborate and bitter arraignment of the Committee one may consult the Joy Pamphlet as given in the *Detroit Free Press*, Jan. 10, 1863.

19. *Cong. Globe*, 2nd Sess. 37th Cong., pp. 3386-3392.

20. *Free Press*, August 5, 1862. Not that the writer believes the rumor, though Stanton may have supplied some of the ideas expressed on the military strategy of McClellan.

21. MS letter, *Trumbull papers*.

change of policy & men shall *instantly* be made. Are they up to the work? The Northwest is but what are we to expect from New England. Has she ever stood up to the work in Congress. This seems to me the last hope. Your President is unstable as water, if he has as I suspect, been bullied by those traitor Generals how long will it be before he will by them be set aside & a military dictator²² set up. McClellan's Army is totally demoralized & ready for anything but fighting, it will not fight under its present Commanders. the Material is good & the *Men* will fight if reorganized and properly handled. The Army of the Northwest is not so bad, but if Buell is kept in command thirty days longer I fear it will be even worse. For God and the country's sake, send someone to *stay* with the President who will control and hold him. I do not despair but my only hope is in the Lord and I don't believe he will let us be destroyed.

"Very truly yours,

"Z. CHANDLER."

The fire-eaters of the Northwest, knowing nothing of the art of war, having a supreme contempt for West Point training²³ and constantly underrating the strength of the Southern armies were to some extent at least responsible for the premature battles, constant change of commanders, and disastrous defeats of the Union arms. Acting through the Committee on the Conduct of the War, they did injury and injustice to

22. Illegible.

23. See Mr. Chandler's speech in the Senate on West Point, delivered Dec. 23, 1861 (*Cong. Globe*, 2nd Sess. 37th Cong., pp. 164-65).

able and conscientious generals. And yet it was the courage, patriotism and absolute faith of the radicals of the Northwest in the ultimate victory of the Union arms that nerved the Administration in the face of the most appalling defeats to still greater efforts to subjugate the South. Mr. Chandler never doubted but that the war could be ended at any time within thirty or sixty days.²⁴ No defeat daunted him. No disaster caused his courage or zeal to flag. On every proposition to sustain the Administration with money and men he voted "yea." That he was narrow, prejudiced and often unjust in his judgments must be admitted. That his interference in military matters and his intermeddling with the affairs of men more capable within their spheres than he, is no doubt true. But it was the indomitable will, splendid courage and patriotic fervor of the little band of the Northwestern radicals that caused the war to be prosecuted with such unflagging zeal, that prevented concessions or compromises with slavery and helped to make this land what it is today.

The policy of confiscating rebel property was heartily supported by Mr. Chandler. He refused to vote for the bill of June 30, 1862, on the ground that it was "utterly worthless." But the more stringent measure of July 12 received his support. He took an active part in the debates on the Tax bill of 1862, and in all financial discussions proved his shrewdness as a business man.

24. See, for example, his speech in the Senate, Feb. 12, 1862 (*Cong. Globe*, 2nd Sess. 37th Cong., p. 774).

CHAPTER VIII

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1862 IN MICHIGAN AND MR. CHANDLER'S SECOND ELECTION TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE

THE Senatorial election of January, 1859, resulted in the retirement of Charles E. Stuart, Democrat, and the election of Kinsley S. Bingham, Republican, to the United States Senate. Mr. Bingham died October 5, 1861, and the question of his successor became at once a matter of interest to the politicians. Jacob M. Howard, Isaac P. Christiancy, Hezekiah G. Wells and Austin Blair were all candidates for the place. Mr. Chandler was particularly anxious that Howard should not be elected. Mr. Howard was a Detroit man and with both Senators from Detroit there was danger that the locality argument would be used effectively against the re-election of Mr. Chandler in 1863. Early in November, 1862, Mr. Howard, doubtless through Mr. Chandler's influence, was tendered the appointment of Minister to Honduras.¹ Mr. Howard, however, refused to be exiled to Honduras to promote the political prospects of Senator Chandler and declined the offer.² According to the *Free Press*, Chandler then threw his influence in favor of H. G. Wells of Kalamazoo.³ The contest finally

1. *Free Press*, November 9, 1861.

2. *Free Press*, November 16, 1861.

3. *Free Press*, January 4, 1862.

narrowed down to a fight between Governor Blair, J. M. Howard and H. G. Wells. Blair was a radical of the Chandler type but there was a constitutional objection to his election. In the end Howard was chosen, and this result was not unnatural, for the conservative influence had been growing in strength and Howard was regarded as more conservative than either Chandler or his candidate Wells. His election was heralded by the Democrats as a Conservative victory and as a portent of the defeat of Chandler in 1863.⁴ Once elected, however, he became as radical as the "Great Blood-letter" himself.

Howard was a scholarly man, a polished orator, an excellent constitutional lawyer and a highly respected citizen. His relations with the "rough and ready" Zachariah Chandler, although amicable enough, were not congenial. Howard cared nothing about "the offices" and, as Chandler cared a great deal about them, the distribution of the federal patronage was controlled by Chandler.

During his first term in the Senate, Chandler used the federal patronage to entrench himself in power. He gained control of the machinery of the Republican party in Michigan and used it to further his political interests. When the Democratic State Central Committee wrote to the Republican State Central Committee proposing a Union Convention to nominate candidates for the Legislature in 1862, they found the radical Republican element in control and the proposition was declined.⁵

4. *Free Press*, January 11, 1863, quoting State papers.

5. The correspondence is given in the *Free Press*, Sept. 6, 1862.



JACOB M. HOWARD

The breach between the radical and the conservative elements in the Republican party which was disclosed in the Senatorial campaign of 1862 widened as the months went by. In spite of the refusal of the Republican State Central Committee to join the Democrats in a Union Convention, the Democrats began to call themselves "Union Democrats" and "Fusionists." By this they hoped to gain the support of conservative Republicans who opposed Chandler and the radical policy. In this they met with some success, for conservative Republicans had to choose between the Democratic party, calling itself the Union party but repudiated by the regular Republican organization, and the Republican party dominated by the radicals, which stigmatized the Union movement as "fire-in-the-rear Democracy."

During the campaign of 1862 Zachariah Chandler was the personification of radical Republicanism in Michigan. His reelection to the United States Senate was the most prominent issue in the campaign. "Let every man running for the Legislature be questioned by the voters as to whether he will, under any circumstances, vote for Chandler. Whoever declines to say 'no' ought to be beaten at the polls," cried his opponents.⁶ The Democrats were well aware that the Republican candidates could not answer "no." Mr. Chandler's agents had been busy in township caucuses and county and legislative district conventions. They had seen to it that only Chandler men received Republican nominations for the Legislature. By 1862 Mr. Chandler owned the Republican organization from

6. *Free Press*, November 1, 1862.

the State Central Committee down to the most obscure caucus. In the slang phrase of the day, "Zachariah Chandler carried the Republican organization in his breeches' pockets." His power was due in part to his control over the federal patronage and to a judicious use of money, but it rested upon a solid basis of popular support. The Republicans of Michigan regarded him as one who "stood like a lion in the path of the 'fire-in-the-rear' traitors who have labored to damn the fair fame of Michigan for loyalty and patriotism in the war for national existence."⁷

The campaign of 1862 in Michigan cannot be called an "educative" campaign. Ridicule and abuse were greatly relied upon by both sides. No distinct issue, other than the reelection of Mr. Chandler, divided the parties. Mr. Chandler, as a leading member of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, was denounced for the defeats of the Union arms and assailed as the author of the "Blood letter." On September 17, 1862, Mr. Chandler wrote to Lyman Trumbull,⁸

"I want you to give me as much of the month of October as possible. I am all right if we carry the State, but the Browning-Cowan faction are trying to get up an anti-confiscation, no-party union with the Locos. We shall take solid [?] ground upon Confiscation & the use of all the elements which God and Nature have placed in our hands to crush the Rebellion. Come directly to my house. I will pay all expenses."

7. *Port Huron Press*, as quoted in *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, November 14, 1862.

8. MS letter, *Trumbull Papers*, Library of Congress.

The Republicans denounced fusion as "secession in disguise" and advocated a vigorous prosecution of the war. The battle of Antietam and the publication of the Emancipation Proclamation were hailed with joy by the radicals and undoubtedly helped them to carry the election. On November 9, Mr. Chandler wrote to a close friend, Charles T. Gorham, of Marshall, Calhoun County, Michigan:

"Detroit, Nov. 9th, 1862.

"Hon. Chas. T. Gorham,

"My Dear Sir: You have done nobly in Calhoun. I wish I could say so much for Wayne, but here we have had Secret Conservatism, Democracy & the Devil to contend with & they [?] were too much for us. The Catholic Church was solid against us and at least 4-5ths of the Episcopal. Still we were never so strong in the State as we are to-day. If the President will *now* order on the columns and close the war before spring *as he can* there will be no resurrection for Secret Sympathizers or *Conservatives* after the soldiers return. I go to Washington tomorrow evening & I shall express my views mildly to Father Abraham. Shall be absent only a week.

"Very truly yours,

"Z. CHANDLER."

When the Legislature met in January, 1863, the first business was the election of a Senator. The Republican press argued that since the reelection of Senator Chandler was the main issue in the election of 1862, the result of the election was to be interpreted

as expressing the popular will that Mr. Chandler should again be sent to the Senate.⁹ Mr. Chandler was on hand in Lansing personally directing his subordinates and superintending his interests. His lobby was immense, including nearly every federal officeholder in the State from the army of collectors and assessors to petty postmasters from the rural districts. The nomination of Mr. Chandler by an open unanimous vote upon the first informal ballot in the Republican caucus¹⁰ is most convincing evidence of his political power and the efficiency of his political methods.¹¹

James F. Joy of Detroit, a conservative Republican and a boyhood friend of Mr. Chandler, was nominated by the Fusionists. Mr. Joy was not present in Lansing. He did not want the nomination and though he could not decline it until after the election, owing to the lack of telegraphic communication between Detroit and Lansing, he undoubtedly would have done so if it had been possible. He had written an "Address to the Legislature"¹² which, printed in pamphlet form, was

9. *Advertiser and Tribune*, January 6, 1863.

10. *Free Press*, Jan. 9, 1863, *The Advertiser and Tribune*, Jan. 10, said: "It is safe to affirm that at least in the Northern States no man was ever sent to Washington as Senator by a unanimous vote upon the first informal caucus ballot."

11. The *Free Press*, Jan. 7, 1863, states that Mr. Chandler was so confident of his reelection that he shipped the champagne for his Senatorial dinner to Lansing before the Republican caucus had even met to nominate him. Whether true or not, this story might just as well be true so far as Mr. Chandler's confidence in his reelection is concerned.

12. This address is printed in full in the *Free Press*, January 10, 1863.

laid upon the desks of members of the Legislature the morning of the Senatorial election. In this he charged Mr. Chandler and the radicals with unduly meddling in military affairs and thereby causing the failure of the Peninsular campaign and other defeats of the Union armies. He arraigned Mr. Chandler for allowing his organ, the *Detroit Advertiser*, to accept a challenge from the *Free Press* to make the reelection of Mr. Chandler to the Senate the issue in the campaign of 1862.

The radicals gave the conservatives no time to allow the arguments in this pamphlet to exert an influence on the members of the Legislature. Through adroit parliamentary tactics,¹³ which included a vigorous use of the previous question, the Senatorial election was pushed through both houses by the Republican majority without delay¹⁴ and on January 8, the second day of the session, the Legislature in joint convention declared Zachariah Chandler elected to the United States Senate for another term of six years.

13. For an interesting account of these, see letter from Lansing Correspondent in *Free Press*, January 13, 1863.

14. The vote in the House was—

Chandler	60	
Jas. F. Joy		34
S. L. Withey		1
	60	to 35

The vote in the Senate was—

Chandler	18	
Joy		11
Felch		2
Wells		1
	18	to 14

CHAPTER IX

IN THE SENATE, 1863 AND 1864

THE bill to provide a national currency based on United States bonds received Mr. Chandler's hearty support. On February 11, 1863, he said in the Senate:¹ "This is a part of the great financial question which is in my judgment the great question in the conduct of the war. If we can keep our finances sound, if we can create a demand for our bonds, if we can keep our Treasury supplied, we know and all the world knows, that we can put down this rebellion. If our finances fail, the nation fails. I believe that all there is in this bill is good. In the first place, if it accomplishes anything, it produces a demand for your Government securities. . . . Again, it supplies you with a better currency than the local banks now furnish. It furnishes the people with a currency based upon United States stocks, whereas the circulation of the New England banks is based upon nothing. . . . I had hoped that the New England banks and the other eastern banks that have been flooding the West with their paper for some years past, would be sufficiently patriotic to come in and take these bonds. . . . Sir, it is true. . . . that they do send their circulation out west; and we do not thank them for it. . . . We prefer that the Government should occupy this vacuum which is to-day filled by these Eastern banks. This

1. *Globe*, 3rd Sess. 37th Cong., p. 877.

is a question of whether you will legislate for a few petty banks in New England or whether you will legislate for the preservation of this great nation. That is the question you are voting on now. Sir, I will sacrifice banks and negroes and everything else to save this nation; and I trust the Senate is equally patriotic."

As a Western business man, Mr. Chandler had suffered from the flood of bank paper, much of it from New England, which circulated in his State. In supporting this bill he was not only working for the Union, but more particularly he was the champion of the debtor Northwest against the banking interests of the Northeast. The *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, June 21, 1864 said: "Last Saturday was pay-day for the employees of the *Advertiser and Tribune* the bills of 66 State banks were employed in the payment of not quite \$400.00. The only Michigan bill was a Michigan Insurance 'one.' With very few exceptions each bank was represented by but one bill."

In urging the passage of the Currency bill the paper continued: "Let us have the uniform National system Let us no longer be compelled to remember from whom it was we received each bill in our possession or to rush to our bankers with each half dozen bills we take to ascertain their genuineness and value or to deposit them lest they should spoil upon our hands."

Mr. Chandler favored a prohibition tax by the National Government upon State bank note circulation² and opposed State and local taxation of bank

2. *Globe*, 3rd Sess. 37th Cong., p. 929.

stocks invested in United States bonds.³ Upon the constitutional question involved he said: "Sir, I have not got the Constitution on the brain. . . . I believe that it is constitutional to do whatever is requisite to save the Constitution and the Government."

On February 19, 1863, Mr. Chandler introduced a bill⁴ to provide for the collection of abandoned property in insurrectionary districts, for the purchase of staples—cotton—by Treasury agents and the prevention of frauds in connection with property captured or bought in the Southern States by officers in the Army, Navy or Treasury Department. During the debate on this bill Mr. Chandler defended General Butler against a charge brought by Senator Davis that he, Butler, had connived with his brother to seize abandoned property in Louisiana for private gain.⁵ To an objection that the bill was unjust to rebels and unconstitutional Mr. Chandler replied:⁶ "A rebel has sacrificed all his rights. He has no right to life, liberty or the pursuit of happiness."

The following letter was written by Mr. Chandler to Lyman Trumbull:⁷

"Detroit, August 6th, 1863.

"Hon. Lyman Trumbull,

"My Dear Sir:

"We have in my judgment reached the critical period of the war. Had Meade captured Lee's artillery as I think he should have done, the fighting would have

3. *Globe*, 1st Sess. 38th Cong., p. 1872.

4. *Globe*, 3rd Sess. 37th Cong., p. 1090.

5. Feb. 27, 1863, *Globe*, 3rd Sess. 37th Cong., p. 1334.

6. *Globe*, 3rd Sess. 37th Cong., p. 1338.

7. MS letter, *Trumbull Papers*, Library of Congress.

been ended, or in other words the last great battle of the war would have been fought. *Now* we must fight one more tremendous battle & if we are successful the bubble will burst. Are we quite ready? The Slavery question is settling itself with great rapidity. Every negro regiment of a thousand men presents just one thousand *unanswerable* arguments against the revocation of the President's proclamation & every fight wherein a negro regiment distinguishes itself by desperate valour as at Port Hudson and [?] adds fourfold to their number and weight. Our armies are greatly reduced by the returning 9 mos. & two years men so much so that I am not quite sure the enemy may not mass his forces & give us a repulse in some quarter although I trust we shall guard against them. I don't anticipate much activity during the month of August anywhere unless a battle should be precipitated at or near Culpepper, which I do not anticipate, in the meantime the draft is going on. Our broken regiments are filled up & negro brigades & divisions are being added with great rapidity. Stanton assured me 4 weeks ago to-day that we should have 100,000 negro troops in the field within 60 days from that date. I have little fear that the President will recede. He is stubborn as a mule when he gets his back up & *it is up now* on the proclamation. Seward & Weed are shaky [?] but this peculiar trait of stubbornness (which annoyed us so much 18 months ago) is *now* our Salvation. I shall remain here during this month & should be glad to see you here. present my kind regards to Mrs. Trumbull & believe me

"Very truly yours,

"Z. CHANDLER."

In September⁸ Mr. Chandler went to Ohio to stump the State. A. G. Riddle writes:⁹ "I met Senator Chandler at Painesville early in September and he offered to accompany me. He had a single well worn and easy going speech, not very long, which always closed with a phillipic against England."

The election being over, "Senator Zachariah Chandler¹⁰ having seen in the newspapers a paragraph that Mr. Thurlow Weed and Governor Morgan had been in consultation with the President in regard to his message,¹¹ wrote a vehement letter to the President telling him that there was a 'patriotic organization in all the free and border states, containing to-day over one million of voters, every man of whom is your friend upon the radical measures of your Administration; but there is not a Seward, Weed or Blair man among them all. 'How are these men,' he asked 'to be of service to you in any way? They are a millstone about your neck. You drop them and they are politically ended forever. Conservatives and traitors are buried together. For God's sake don't exhume their remains in your message. They will smell worse than Lazarus did after he had been buried seven days.' There was no man slower than Mr. Lincoln to take personal offence at even the most indiscreet advice or censure; but he answered this letter of Mr. Chandler in a tone of unusual dignity

8. The 14th, according to letter of Z. Chandler to C. L. Miller, Sept. 13, MS letter in State Capitol at Lansing.

9. Riddle, *Recollections of War Times*, p. 233.

10. Nicolay & Hay, *A. Lincoln, A History*, VII, 388.

11. The letter was dated Nov. 15, 1863, (note of N. & H.).

and severity.¹² 'I have seen,' he said, 'Governor Morgan and Thurlow Weed separately, but not together, within the last ten days; but neither of them mentioned the forthcoming message or said anything, so far as I can remember, which brought the thought of the message to my mind. I am very glad the elections this autumn have gone favorably and that I have not by native depravity or under evil influences done anything bad enough to prevent the good result. I hope to 'stand firm' enough to not go backward, and yet not go forward enough to wreck the country's cause.' "

Mr. Lincoln's message of December 8, 1863, was entirely satisfactory to Mr. Chandler. John Hay wrote in his diary,¹³ "Chandler was delighted." It was in this message that the President outlined his plan of reconstruction.

In January, 1864, Mr. Chandler¹⁴ spoke against an amendment to the Enrollment Act to allow commutation of military service by a money payment—"If you want \$150.00 and do not want men, vote for the amendment. If you want men, do away with the exemption entirely and have your men come up or furnish substitutes. I am opposed to this whole theory of commutation. The Government wants men not money."

On April 15, 1864, speaking in favor of the bill to prohibit speculation in gold¹⁵, Mr. Chandler said: "The price of gold is on the point of Grant's bayonets

12. Dated November 20, 1863.

13. N. and H., *Lincoln*, IX, 109.

14. Jan. 16, 1864, *Globe*, 1st Sess. 38th Cong., pp. 251-252.

15. April 15, 1864, *Globe*, 1st Sess. 38th Cong., p. 1644.

...and when Grant strikes the first crushing blow at Lee, as he certainly will within 60 days from to-day, you will see such a trouble in gold as the world never witnessed before. . . . I believe this rebellion is on its last legs."

Mr. Chandler's enthusiasm for the Northwest sometimes led him into amusing and extravagant statements. During the debate on the tax bill he said:¹⁶ "We have a foreign trade. We have a regular line from Detroit to Europe. There are just as regular lines between Detroit and Liverpool as there are between New York and Liverpool only there are not quite so many of them."

Mr. Chandler's hostility towards rebels was only exceeded by his hatred of the Copperheads of the Northwest. On one occasion, while dining with friends at the National Hotel in Washington, Mr. Chandler denounced in very strong terms Copperheads in general and especially those of the West.¹⁷ According to the newspaper account of the affair, "Voorhees, of Indiana,¹⁸ who was sitting at another table in company with Hannegan, also of Indiana, arose from his seat, approached Chandler in an excited manner demanding whether he referred to him, to which Chandler replied, 'Who are you, Sir, I don't know you,' at the same time rising from his chair. Voorhees replied, 'I am Voorhees, of Indiana,' and suiting his action to the word, struck Chandler on the

16. May 26, 1864, *Globe*, 1st Sess. 38th Cong., p. 2494.

17. *New York Times*, May 27, 1864, (Townsend Library, XLIV, 459).

18. "Dan" Voorhees, then member of the House of Representatives.

side of the face. The two then closed, and the Senator was rapidly getting the better of Voorhees, when Hannegan came to the latter's assistance with a heavy milk pitcher, snatched from the table, which he broke on Chandler's head. The contents of the pitcher splashed over the whole company. Chandler was stunned by the blow, and had not fully recovered himself when Hannegan dealt him a second blow with a chair. At this juncture parties present interfered, and the belligerents were separated. Chandler's head was slightly cut by the pitcher, and his shoulder and arm considerably bruised by the chair. Though not able to close his hand, he has been out to-day attending to his usual duties." Mr. Chandler as well as Mr. Sumner had to suffer for expressing their opinions too freely.

On June 28, 1864, Mr. Chandler made some characteristic remarks¹⁹ on an amendment to Senate bill No. 232 in regard to intercourse with disloyal States: "I thought that death was a light penalty for licensed Officers of the Government who furnished the rebels with military supplies. . . . I do not think three years is any punishment for a man guilty of such a crime. I certainly would impose the death penalty and take from the President in such a case the pardoning power, if that were possible."

The Congressional plan of reconstruction as embodied in the Wade-Davis bill and adopted by Congress during the closing hours of the first session of the 38th Congress, was very near to Mr. Chandler's heart. His anxiety over the disposition of the bill

19. *Cong. Globe*, 1st Sess. 38th Cong., p. 3324.

by President Lincoln is well told in Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*—²⁰

"Congress was to adjourn at noon on the Fourth of July; the President was in his room at the Capitol signing bills, which were laid before him as they were brought from the two Houses. When this important bill (Wade-Davis) was placed before him, he laid it aside and went on with the other work of the moment. Several prominent members entered in a state of intense anxiety over the fate of the bill. Mr. Sumner and Mr. Boutwell, while their nervousness was evident, refrained from any comment. Zachariah Chandler, who was unabashed in any mortal presence, roundly asked the President if he intended to sign the bill. The President replied:²¹ 'This bill has been placed before me a few moments before Congress adjourns. It is a matter of too much importance to be swallowed in that way.' 'If it is vetoed,' cried Mr. Chandler, 'it will damage us fearfully in the Northwest. The important point is that one prohibiting slavery in the reconstructed States.' Mr. Lincoln said, 'That is the point on which I doubt the authority of Congress to act.' 'It is not more than you have done yourself,' said the Senator. The President answered, 'I conceive that I may in an emergency do things on military grounds which cannot be done constitutionally by Congress.' Mr. Chandler, expressing his deep chagrin went out and the President.....said.....'this bill and the position of these gentlemen seem to me, in asserting that the insurrectionary States are no longer

20. N. and H., *Lincoln*, IX, 120-121.

21. Marginal note in N. and H. reads "J. H. Diary."



ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

From a daguerreotype in the possession of Mrs. Eugene Hale, Ellsworth, Maine.

in the Union, to make the fatal admission that the States, whenever they please, may of their own motion dissolve their connection with the Union.' "

The malcontents in the Republican party who met in convention at Cleveland, May 31, 1864, and nominated John C. Fremont for President, received no support from Mr. Chandler. The Cleveland convention²² was founded upon issues both conservative and radical. It was conservative in its denunciation of the violations of the rights of free speech, free press and *habeas corpus* in districts where martial law had not been proclaimed. With complaints of such violations Mr. Chandler had little sympathy. He was radical on every measure for putting down the rebellion, and infringements upon the constitutional rights of individuals, if necessary to this end, were in his opinion not only justifiable but praiseworthy. The confiscation plank in the Cleveland platform was radical, but Fremont repudiated it in his letter of acceptance. The plank for a constitutional amendment to prohibit the re-establishment of slavery and "to secure the equality of all men before the law" was no more radical than a similar plank in the Baltimore platform, except for the last clause. The Cleveland men denounced the Administration for "managing the war for personal ends." Mr. Chandler was a practical politician and a firm believer in such a distribution of the patronage as would maintain the Republican party in power. Furthermore, Mr. Chandler was thoroughly identified with the past conduct of

22. For documents pertaining to this convention see Appleton's *Annual Encyclopaedia*, 1864, p. 786.

the war—a criticism upon it was a reflection upon him as well as upon Mr. Lincoln. But above all else, Mr. Chandler was one of the “ins,” not the “outs.” He was receiving a generous share of the federal patronage from Mr. Lincoln, and thereby strengthening his own power in Michigan. For him to have cast aside these advantages and thrown in his lot with a coterie of discontented men who had nothing to lose and everything to gain would have been Quixotic and unwise and entirely foreign to every political policy and sentiment upon which Mr. Chandler was ever known to act.²³

According to the *Post and Tribune* “Life,”²⁴ Mr. Chandler induced Fremont to withdraw from the contest and secured the support of Wade and Davis

23. H. M. Dilla, *Politics of Michigan, 1865-1878*, p. 35, speaking of Chandler's attitude towards the Cleveland Convention, says: “It would be expected from temperament and past convictions that Chandler would have thrown his influence with the opponent of Lincoln, in the interest of a more vigorous prosecution of the war. This was not the case, however, for he labored steadfastly in behalf of Lincoln and he was among those who effected the withdrawal of Fremont. The motive for this action is not evident.”

I cannot agree with Miss Dilla on this point. Chandler's attitude seems to me to have been the natural and indeed the only possible position for him to take under the circumstances. So far as I have been able to discover, the Cleveland Convention received little support from Michigan Republicans. The *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* opposed it openly and the *Free Press* gives no information tending to show a strong movement in its favor in Michigan. The *Free Press*, being Democratic, would naturally show up the weakness of the Michigan Republicans if they were actually divided by the Cleveland Convention.

24. Chapter XV.

for Mr. Lincoln. There is every reason to believe that Mr. Chandler's influence was potent in healing the breach in the Republican ranks.

During the campaign Mr. Chandler spoke in Indiana, Connecticut, New Jersey and New York and made an extended speaking tour in Michigan. In his own State he found himself in thorough *rapport* with the people. Particularly in the country districts men, women and children came five, ten and even twenty miles to hear him, and it was no unusual thing, particularly in the new counties in the northwestern part of the State, for stores to close, sawmills to shut down, farm labor to be suspended and almost the whole population to turn out to the Republican meetings.²⁵

The result of the election was a Republican victory in Michigan. Lincoln received²⁶ 79,149 votes exclusive of a "soldiers vote" of 9,402; McClellan received 68,513 exclusive of a "soldiers vote" of 2,959.

25. *Advertiser and Tribune*, Oct. 29, 1864.

26. *Michigan Manual*.

CHAPTER X

THE YEARS 1865-66

MR. Chandler's hatred of Great Britain fell little short of a mild form of mania on the subject. For years, upon the stump and in the Senate, he never failed to "twist the lion's tail," upon every possible occasion. He attacked Great Britain for issuing the Neutrality Proclamation, for lax enforcement of her neutrality laws in the matter of Confederate cruisers, and for harboring rebels in Canada and allowing raids across the border into the territory of the United States.

There was in fact considerable uneasiness in Detroit during the war over the possibility of an attack upon the city by the Confederates and their sympathizers living just across the river in Windsor, Canada, and no doubt Mr. Chandler shared in the feeling. But Mr. Chandler was by nature an intense partisan. In defending Michigan he would revile New England and New York; in defending the North he would castigate the South; as a loyal Republican he would flay Copperheads, and as an American he took delight in berating Great Britain. As a stump speaker Mr. Chandler relied in large measure upon vituperation and a certain rough, coarse humor. He was a powerful man physically, as tall as Lincoln and in his later years considerably heavier. He possessed tremendous nervous energy and when he spoke to a political audience he

used every ounce of it. In denouncing the sins of Great Britain he was at his best, and the flood of vituperation and abuse that he poured forth was laughed at and highly enjoyed by the majority of his constituents. We demand rather more refinement in our political speeches to-day, but fifty years ago Zachariah Chandler was one of the most effective stump speakers in the Northwest.

It is possible that Mr. Chandler had a political motive: he may have hoped to divert attention from party dissensions at home by attacking a foreign power and again giving the Republican party an opportunity to call itself the party of patriots and stigmatize its opponents as traitors to their country. But after all, it seems to have been with him a sort of mania.

As early as June 16, 1864, in a speech in the Senate, Mr. Chandler declared:¹ "If I had my way, I would raise a wall of fire between this nation and Great Britain. . . . She has sent out cruisers, English ships, built of English timber, manned with Englishmen, provisioned with English provisions, sailing under British colors, to prey upon our commerce, until she has virtually driven it from the face of the earth. Sir, I am prepared to-day to say to Great Britain, 'Pay that bill, principal and interest, or there shall be no commercial intercourse between you and us until that bill is paid,' and if she did not pay the bill, and England got into war with any power on earth, I do not care if it was the King of Dahomey, I would let loose a fleet of fast sailing steamers that should make her drink the

1. *Globe*, 1st Sess. 38th Cong., p. 3008.

cup to the dregs. . . . I would let private individuals take out letters of marque, and I would let them drive the English flag from the seas as she has driven ours."

The report of the release of the St. Albans raiders by the Canadian authorities, for want of jurisdiction, was published in the newspaper, December 14, 1864. Mr. Chandler that same morning introduced two resolutions² in the Senate which for undiplomatic language could hardly be exceeded. The first one read:

"Whereas. the people of the British Provinces seem disposed to protect these thieves, robbers, incendiaries, pirates and murderers, not only in their individual capacity but by the quibbles of the law: Therefore, *Resolved*, That the Committee on Military Affairs be directed to inquire into the expediency of immediately enlisting an Army Corps to watch and defend our territory bordering on the lakes."

Objection being made, Mr. Chandler offered a second resolution, which after a long preamble instructed the Secretary of State to compute the damages due from Great Britain for allowing the Confederate cruisers to escape, and to "demand" from the British Government payment in full with interest at 6%.

Upon the subject of retaliation upon rebel prisoners for cruelties suffered by Union soldiers in Southern prisons, Mr. Chandler was radical. His colleague in the Senate, J. M. Howard, introduced a bill upon the subject and on January 30, 1865, Mr. Chandler spoke in favor of it—³

2. *Cong. Globe*, 2nd Sess. 38th Cong., p. 33-34.

3. *Cong. Globe*, 2nd Sess. 38th Cong., p. 496-497.

"I shall vote for this measure of retaliation, and for any measure of retaliation that promises to be effective. Ay, Sir, I will carry it to the point of starvation. . . . I will carry it to the stake and I will carry it to any extent that is necessary to preserve the lives of those helpless and suffering prisoners now dying by thousands in the hands of these accursed, hellish rebels."

No doubt the testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War on the subject of the treatment accorded Union soldiers in Southern prisons and elsewhere had much to do in arousing an intense desire for retaliation in Chandler and Wade. Upon this point Chandler said:⁴ "The Committee on the Conduct of the War has been laboring for years to induce the Administration to adopt the system of retaliation; but the labor has been fruitless. A year ago, when that committee was directed to investigate the condition of the returned prisoners then arriving at Annapolis, we found that language failed to convey to the mind a correct idea of the condition of these men, and we were compelled, in order to give even an approximate idea of the treatment our prisoners had received, to have photographs⁵ of those skeletons before the people of the United States, that they might realize the barbarities that had been perpetrated upon them. We then hoped and believed that the Administration would adopt, and adopt immediately, a

4. *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 38th Cong., p. 496.

5. For these pictures see Report of Committee on the Conduct of the War, *House Report*, No. 67, 1st Sess. 38th Cong.

system of retaliation that would prove efficacious. In that hope we were disappointed."

Sumner, Wilson, Trumbull and other radicals opposed Mr. Howard's bill. Mr. Chandler pronounced Mr. Sumner's substitute⁶ "a sublimated specimen of humanitarianism."⁷

In February the joint resolution to recognize the State of Louisiana came up in the Senate.⁸ The radicals were divided on the measure but Sumner, Wade and Chandler were able by dilatory motions to defeat its passage.

After the assassination of President Lincoln, some of the members of the Committee on the Conduct of the War called upon President Johnson who assured them that in his opinion treason was a crime that must be made odious, traitors must be punished and impoverished, and loyal men must be remunerated from the pockets of those who had brought on the rebellion.⁹ Such sentiments delighted Mr. Chandler and his associates. Andrew Johnson had served with Mr. Chandler on the Committee on the Conduct of the War, and they had long been political and personal

6. Sumner's amendment to the joint resolution advising retaliation for the cruel treatment of prisoners by the insurgents would strike out all after the resolving clause of the resolution and insert the following: "..... That any attempted imitation of rebel barbarism in the treatment of prisoners....being....impracticable, useless, immoral and degrading, it must be rejected as a measure of retaliation...."

Globe, 2nd Sess. 38th Cong., p. 381.

7. *Cong. Globe*, 2nd Sess. 38th Cong., p. 496-497.

8. Upon this, see Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, IX, 454.

9. Speech in Detroit, Nov. 3, 1866. See *Detroit Post*, Nov. 5, 1866.

friends. Mr. Chandler loved a friend and hated an enemy with singular blindness to the faults of the one and the merits of the other. He was slow to turn against his former friend Andrew Johnson. All through the Session of 1865-66 Mr. Chandler, although he voted with the radicals, maintained silence upon the important measures of reconstruction which were debated in the Senate. As early as May 2, 1865, the *Free Press* commented upon the silence of Sumner, Wade and Chandler. In January, 1866,¹⁰ the same paper announced that "the secret of his [Chandler's] remaining so quiet in the Senate thus far was that he had abandoned the radical faction and was a warm Johnson man." Whether from political or personal considerations, Mr. Chandler does not seem to have been a leader of the radical anti-Johnson men, until the winter of 1866-67.

January 15, 1866, he made a violent speech¹¹ against Great Britain and offered a resolution requesting the President to withdraw our Minister from the Court of St. James and to make national proclamation of non-intercourse on account of the refusal of that Government to make reparation for damages inflicted upon our commerce. This resolution met with considerable ridicule from the newspapers. The *Chicago Tribune* headed an editorial upon it, "Senator Chandler's Joke." Mr. Chandler in reply¹² wrote a letter to the editors which closed:

10. *Free Press*, Jan. 6, 1866.

11. *Cong. Globe*, 1st Sess. 39th Cong., pp. 226-227.

12. For this whole matter see *New York Herald* Feb. 3, 1866. (Townsend Library, LXIV, 318).

"In conclusion, Messrs. Editors, I would say that if this be a 'joke,' I am of the opinion that Great Britain will find it a serious one. If she does not pay the bills, I shall push the matter this year, next year and the year following and if I die before these bills are paid in full, satisfactorily adjusted or retaliated for, I shall die pressing these claims, and shall leave as a legacy to my descendants and successors the charge to prosecute until the claims are paid."

Sumner's resolution of protest against the practice of pardoning criminals abroad on conditions that they emigrate to the United States called forth from Chandler some characteristic remarks:¹³

"If the Senator from Massachusetts would put anything that was effective into his resolution I should not object to it; as, for instance, if he would declare that a repetition of these acts would be a just cause of war, or that we would retaliate, or something more than a simple protest by Congress. That will do for a Secretary of State; it will do for one of the servants of this Government; but it is beneath the dignity of this body to pass such a resolution."

Much of Chandler's work in the Senate was connected with the Committee on Commerce. He was for years the Chairman of that important Committee, and as a Western man his influence was always thrown in favor of a broad interpretation of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. On March 20, 1866, he spoke¹⁴ at length in favor of a bill to grant a monopoly to induce a company to lay an Atlantic

13. Mar. 19, 1866. *Globe*, 1st Sess. 39th Cong., p. 1493.

14. *Cong. Globe*, 1st Sess. 39th Cong., p. 1518.

cable between the United States and the West Indies. To an objection that Congress had no constitutional power to grant such a monopoly, Mr. Chandler replied: "This constitutional objection seems to me very puerile. The Constitution confers on Congress the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States and with the Indian tribes.¹⁵ I should like to know how we can better exercise the power to regulate commerce than by regulating our telegraphic lines with foreign nations."

In still another instance, during the year 1866, Mr. Chandler championed a liberal interpretation of the power of Congress under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. A bill was before the Senate to build a ship-canal around the falls of Niagara. A majority of the Committee on Commerce were opposed to asserting the right of the United States to act without permission from the State of New York. Michigan and the Northwest wanted the Niagara canal built to give an outlet for their commerce. New York opposed it because it would take traffic from the Erie Canal. Mr. Chandler said: "I believe the Government possesses the power to regulate commerce as it sees fit between States; and I do not believe that the State of New Jersey or the State of New York or any other State can raise an obstacle that shall interfere with the commercial relations between the other States of this Union."

The liberality of the appropriations for Michigan, which uniformly appeared in the River and Harbor bill as it was reported from the Commerce Committee,

15. *Globe*, 1st Sess. 39th Cong., p. 3456.

met with a good deal of comment from Mr. Chandler's colleagues in the Senate. His efforts to obtain appropriations for the St. Clair Flats were so persistent and earnest that "Senator Chandler's St. Clair Flats" came to be regarded as a standing joke and were often referred to in debate to raise a laugh at the Senator's expense.

At one time,¹⁶ during the debate on the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill, it was proposed to deprive Michigan of two lights, one on Isle Royal and another in Saginaw Bay. Mr. Chandler's speech in opposition to this is characteristic of his championship of the commercial interests of Michigan—

"I suppose the Senator is aware (if he is not, I will inform him) of the fact that Lake Superior is to-day more rich in minerals, except gold, than California. We have more silver than California, and I think more than California and Nevada put together. We have not dug it all out (laughter) but we are taking out silver there that yields four thousand to the ton, and you consider yourselves very rich when your ore yields \$400. We have the richest mines on earth, and they are very near to this light, and it is needed for all the commerce—and it is very great—passing to and fro—and it is increasing every day."

Mr. Stewart: "I suppose you want a light to find the silver."

Mr. Chandler: "The light that you now propose to strike out is the only light on Saginaw bay. . . . The commerce of Saginaw bay is perfectly enormous, including over 400,000,000 feet of lumber alone and some

16. Feb. 28, 1873. *Globe*, 3rd Sess. 42nd Cong., p. 1955.

two or three million barrels of salt, besides an enormous amount of other articles, and this is the only light you have to the other entrance to the bay."

The Senate succumbed and refused to accept the amendment striking out the lights.

Mr. Chandler took some part in the debates on the Tax bill; but as before remarked, though he voted with the radicals, he kept strangely quiet upon reconstruction issues. Jacob M. Howard, however, was outspoken in his hostility to President Johnson.

The most prominent issue in the campaign of 1866 in Michigan was that of reconstruction. The Democrats and Conservative Republicans endorsed President Johnson's policy of immediately admitting into Congress the Representatives and Senators from Southern States on the theory that since the Constitution did not recognize the right of secession the Union was still intact and every State within it had a constitutional right to be represented in Congress. The Republicans, entirely under the control of the Radicals, approved Congressional reconstruction and declared that the Southern States should be entitled to representation in Congress only after they had accepted the Fourteenth Amendment, the most objectionable section of which was that the Southern States should either grant suffrage to the Negro or suffer a reduction in the number of their Representatives proportional to the number of Negroes excluded.

The campaign was a strenuous one. The Conservative Republicans, calling themselves National Unionists, held a mass convention at Detroit on

August 9, drew up resolutions endorsing Johnson's reconstruction policy and elected delegates to the national convention of the Conservative Republicans to be held at Philadelphia on August 14. Just a few days before the Philadelphia Convention the Democratic State Central Committee received notice from the National Unionists that a double set of delegates would be welcome at Philadelphia. There being no time to call a Democratic Convention, the Democratic State Central Committee took the responsibility of appointing Democrats to attend the Philadelphia Convention. The opposition to the Republicans began to look formidable. Among the National Union delegates were such prominent men as James F. Joy and Henry Barnes, the Detroit editor. The leading man among the Democratic delegates was Charles E. Stuart, former United States Senator from Michigan. The National Unionists and the Democrats differed with each other upon many questions, including finance, taxation, and protective tariff, but they were a unit upon the reconstruction issue. In order to win the election they agreed to act together. The Democrats endorsed¹⁷ the State ticket nominated by the Michigan National Unionists and both forces now presented a solid front to the Republicans.

Mr. Chandler made a vigorous campaign in behalf of the Republicans and came out flat-footed in opposition to the President. In regard to the question whether the Southern States were in or out of the Union, he said:¹⁸

17. Detroit *Free Press*, Sept. 6, 1866.

18. Detroit *Post*, Nov. 5, 1866.



JOHN ORR

Brother of Margaret (Orr) Chandler. From a miniature in the possession of Mrs. Eugene Hale, of Ellsworth, Maine.

"The question is rather a mythical one at best. They occupied a double relation to the Government; first, they were rebels, and as such were liable to be hung for treason. Afterwards....the whole people of the South became alien enemies of the Government we conquered them finally and then held them by and under the laws of war. Those laws have changed from age to age....but have ever, even as late as July, 1866, permitted the conquerors to levy all the expenses of the war upon the conquered."

He declared¹⁹ that if the Democrats gained the election the holders of rebel script would so "debauch" the Democratic Congress that the people would have the rebel debt to pay. He castigated the "Bread and Butter"²⁰ men of Michigan without mercy, and called Seward, who was a leading member of the National Unionists, morally, physically and intellectually an imbecile and a coward.²¹ He approved the Fourteenth Amendment but declared that it did not go far enough, viz., to extend suffrage and equality to the Negro.²² He declared that President Johnson and the Democrats were trying to "deliver the administration of the Government into the hands of traitors reeking with the blood of freemen."²³ For his part²⁴ he would rather "trust the liberty of his country in the hands of the loyal black whose gun was aimed at the enemies

19. *Detroit Free Press*, Oct. 20, 1866.

20. The epithet applied to the National Unionists by the Republicans.

21. *Free Press*, Oct. 20, 1866.

22. Speech at Lansing, Oct. 18, 1866. *Free Press*, Oct. 20, 1866.

23. *Ibid.*

24. Speech at Detroit, Nov. 3, *Post*, Nov. 5, 1866.

of his country than in the hands of a grayback traitor whose gun was pointed at his country."

If an item in the *Free Press*²⁵ is to be believed, Mr. Chandler depended upon something besides oratory to carry the State; it says: "A letter from Jackson county informs us of the receipt of circulars from the Hon. Z. Chandler, asking for the names of Democrats who are very poor."

Mr. Chandler stumped the State with his old-time vigor, and the result of the election was that a heavy Republican majority sanctioned the position of the radicals.

25. *Free Press*, Oct. 9, 1866.

CHAPTER XI

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND RECONSTRUCTION

IT is a law of politics that men who enter public life full of patriotism and enthusiasm for some great moral issue, once that object is attained, are not likely to see that new issues have arisen and that new problems have come to demand solution. They go on along the old lines. It was so with Zachariah Chandler. Sent to the Senate to fight slaveholders, maintain freedom in the Territories and preserve the Union, the Northwest found in him an able champion. His very narrowness of vision, bitter partisan spirit and indomitable courage and energy had prevented compromise and brought the South to her knees. But these very qualities so potent for good during the war were productive of evil after the war. A new issue was before the nation: How should the Union be reconstructed? Statesmen, men of wisdom and broad vision were needed to answer this question. Mr. Chandler had known the bitterness of the conflict too well, he had fought the Copperheads and rebels too long to be able to take a statesmanlike position upon the issues of reconstruction. The men like Chandler who because of their fierce readiness to fight had refused compromise and had called forth the energy of the North to crush the South were now incapable temperamentally of taking an attitude of conciliation which the situation seems to have re-

quired. So Chandler joined the Radicals and the Radicals were essentially the "stand-patters" who never forgot that Southerners had been rebels, Democrats and Copperheads. The Radicals were intent on maintaining the Republican party in power though the price were Negro suffrage and frequent violation of rights vested by the Constitution. The Conservatives were the liberals who rose above a desire for vengeance and sought only to heal the wounds left by the conflict.

But in reconstruction as in rebellion, Mr. Chandler was still representative of the spirit of the Northwest. The crippled veterans in the streets, the vacant places in the family circles, cried aloud for vengeance. That ruthless spirit which telled the forests of Michigan and conquered the wilderness demanded that the last root and branch of the rebellion be blotted out and found in Mr. Chandler an able champion of its desires.

There is another phase of Mr. Chandler's career that deserves special mention, and that is his attitude toward foreign affairs. His blustering speeches in the Senate and on the stump were distinctly "jingoistic." He was constantly offering resolutions in the Senate couched in undiplomatic and even threatening language, upon various matters connected with our foreign policy. It would be difficult to conceive of a man more unfitted by nature and by training to cope with the affairs of the State Department, and yet Mr. Chandler probably made more speeches upon matters connected with our foreign policy than upon any other single topic. No doubt the Northwest favored expansion, and probably many of Mr. Chandler's con-

stituents believed as he did that the United States was the greatest nation in the world and could whip the combined armies of Europe; but that his jingoistic attitude was representative of the feelings of his constituents is hardly true. His popularity in Michigan was due to the fact that he was "sound on the main question," and not due to his belligerent attitude on foreign affairs; and yet even in foreign affairs Mr. Chandler was but an exaggerated type of the Western diplomatist. It is characteristic of American diplomacy to deal frankly, boldly, even bluntly with foreign nations, and American diplomacy has its root in the West, where men are wont to treat their daily difficulties in very summary fashion.¹

As an illustration of Mr. Chandler's attitude on reconstruction we will now consider some of his remarks in the Senate and elsewhere during 1867 and 1868. On December 4, 1866, he spoke² in favor of a bill to withdraw from the President the power to pardon rebels. February 11, 1867, he declared³ that if Andrew Johnson had violated the law in appointing provisional governors for the States lately in rebellion, he should be impeached. A few days later he made a violent attack⁴ upon Secretary McCulloch for appointing Assistant Assessors of Internal Revenue in the Southern States who were unable to take the oath. In the course of this speech he declared that Secretary

1. See Cornelius O'Dowd (Charles Lever) on "American Diplomacy," *Blackwood's Magazine*, December, 1868, (Vol. 104).

2. *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 39th Cong., p. 8-9.

3. *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 39th Cong., p. 1135-6.

4. Feb. 27, 1867. *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 39th Cong., p. 1884.

McCulloch was a pauper and a criminal and that he was ready to say so elsewhere when the protection of privilege would be lacking. He was active in opposing adjournment during 1867, believing that it was unsafe to adjourn long enough for the President to get control of reconstruction. On September 25, 1867, William Thorpe wrote⁵ to Andrew Johnson from Detroit: "The only advocate of impeachment about here is Senator Z. Chandler, who may be seen at all hours of the day running after men in the streets and exhorting them in the most fervent manner." In a speech at Ashtabula, Ohio,⁶ on October 1, Mr. Chandler said that although he voted for the Fourteenth Amendment he believed at the time that it was a base surrender of the loyal Union men of the South—"Rebels must take back seats and of course loyal men must govern this country. I care not whether they be black or white." On February 21, 1868, a resolution was offered in the Senate simply expressing disapproval of the action of the President in removing Secretary Stanton. Mr. Chandler moved⁷ to add the words "as a violation of the rights of the Senate and unauthorized by law." The Senate refused to agree.

Mr. Chandler of course voted "guilty" on the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. The story is told⁸ that as the impeachment trial drew to a close, Mr. Chandler entered the Senate chamber one morning, when a friend eagerly asked, "Do tell me, Mr. Chand-

5. MS letter, *Johnson Papers*, Library of Congress.

6. McPherson's *Scrap Book*, Campaign of 1867, II, 134-136.

7. *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 40th Cong., p. 4509.

8. *Free Press*, May 24, 1868.

ler, how is it going to-day?" "Go and ask that d—d scoundrel in the corner; it all depends on him," roared the Senator, looking at Ross of Kansas, of whose defection he had just heard.

In a similar way we may note the evidences of Mr. Chandler's jingoistic attitude on foreign affairs. December 3, 1866, he offered a resolution in the Senate in regard to the French troops in Mexico inquiring whether "the French Emperor has offered any explanation or apology for his course."⁹ Mr. Sumner having pointed out the undiplomatic character of the language, the Senate refused to consider the resolution. On March 25, 1867, Mr. Chandler spoke at length¹⁰ on a bill reported from the Committee on Commerce declaring it legal for citizens of the United States to sell ships to friendly belligerents. This bill of course was directed at Great Britain. "Pass this Bill, Sir," cried Mr. Chandler, "and I will guarantee you that Great Britain will be begging for permission to pay the Alabama claims before three months."

Speaking at a banquet in St. Louis, Missouri, in June, in regard to the Alabama claims, Mr. Chandler said:¹¹

"I am not willing to arbitrate with anybody, Mr. President, the bill must be paid with interest from its date and there is no discount upon it. And, Sir, I am disposed to be very liberal with Great Britain. She is a very old power and she is a very feeble power now. She has ceased to command the respect of the nations

9. *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 39th Cong., p. 7-8.

10. *Globe*, 1st Sess., 40th Cong., p. 328-9.

11. *Detroit Post*, June 21, 1867.

of the earth.....I am willing to take collateral securities. Great Britain owns a little land up North of us and I, Sir, am willing to consider this a first mortgage on the little debt that Great Britain owes. I do not want it arbitrated. I want to let it rest until the time comes to foreclose that mortgage....
.. This North American continent belongs to us and ours it must be."

In July¹² Mr. Chandler made a speech in the Senate on the Mexican situation. After glorying over the shooting of Maximilian he exclaimed: "We want the Austrians, the French and the English to understand that if they commence a war against Mexico now they have got to fight the United States of North America. Sir, pass a single resolution of sympathy and aid and no nation will interfere with Mexico.... All the nations of Europe combined would not undertake to fight the United States to-day on this side of the Atlantic."

On November 29 Mr. Chandler introduced¹³ a joint resolution declarative of the neutrality of the United States between Great Britain and Abyssinia. The language used was copied verbatim from the proclamation of neutrality issued by Great Britain May 14, 1861, except that the "United States" and "Confederate States" were changed to "Great Britain" and "Abyssinia."¹⁴

On December 9 Mr. Chandler made a speech¹⁴ in support of his resolution, reviewed the grievances of

12. July 3, 1867, *Globe*, 1st Sess. 40th Cong., p. 507.

13. *Globe*, 1st Sess. 40th Cong., p. 810.

14. *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 40th Cong., p. 83-84.

the United States against Great Britain, estimated the damages due to the United States at two billion dollars, and declared that when the United States had shut Great Britain from the continent of North America and the adjacent islands, the debt would be paid and the national honor satisfied.

CHAPTER XII

MR. CHANDLER'S THIRD ELECTION TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE

ON August 27, 1868, Mr. Chandler wrote¹ to Jacob M. Howard:

"The Copperheads are at work in earnest and have some hopes of carrying two or three Congressional Districts. We are pressed for speakers & I think you should come home at the earliest possible moment. Suppose you give up Minn. until Nov. At any rate, hurry home as soon as possible. I commence regularly next week."

In his speeches during the campaign of 1868, Mr. Chandler approved Congressional Reconstruction, abused Copperheads and rebels, and denounced the payment of the war debt in greenbacks. Some of his methods of winning votes were decidedly undignified. At Battle Creek, on August 24, Mr. Chandler at the close of his speech said:² "Now I want to ask Governor Oglesby (Ill.) one question. Come up here. (The Governor advanced to the front of the stand). I want to ask you, can we, with so many splendid looking women be defeated?" (Laughter and applause). Governor Oglesby: "I will do the Honorable Senator the justice to say that I have not anywhere looked upon a more intelligent audience,

1. MS letter, *Howard Papers*.

2. *Free Press*, August 26, 1868.

with more handsome ladies present in it, than I have to-day."

At Mt. Clemens a few days later the following report is made by an eye-witness:³ "He spoke for about two hours and wound up his great speech by turning round to his right and addressing the ladies (of whom the meeting was composed by half) 'and if any of you ladies,' he said, 'are married to a Copperhead husband, let him sleep alone.' " This was going pretty far even for those days, and met with rebuke from Democratic newspapers; but Mr. Chandler was a product of his time, and his speeches and jokes did not offend his audiences as similar ones would to-day.

The reelection of Mr. Chandler was not a prominent issue in the campaign, but immediately after the Republican victory in November the Senatorial question began to be widely discussed. The *Detroit Post* and the majority of the Republican State press supported Mr. Chandler.⁴ The *Advertiser and Tribune*, Republican, opposed him. The relations between Mr. Chandler and some of the persons behind the *Advertiser and Tribune* had been unfriendly for some time. As a result, Mr. Chandler started the *Post*, the first number of which appeared in March, 1866. The *Post* was distinctly a Chandler paper and the organ of the Chandler "Ring," and with its establishment

3. "Argus" in *Free Press*, Sept. 10, 1868.

4. *Free Press*, Aug. 22, 1868 said: "To secure his reelection to the United States Senate, our Zachariah has lately been perambulating the interior of the State for the purpose of greasing the palms of the Radical Scribes. The happy results of these exertions are already apparent in the loud chorus of praise which resounds from a certain portion of the rural press."

the *Advertiser and Tribune* became the organ of the anti-Chandler wing of the Republican party.

Mr. Chandler's methods to insure his return to the Senate were much the same as before. His friends had been active in township and ward caucuses and legislative district conventions and wherever possible had secured the nomination of men for the Legislature who would vote for him for the United States Senate. In some districts, in spite of these efforts, anti-Chandler men had been nominated by the Republicans, and Mr. Chandler's agents, according to report,⁵ worked to defeat these men and to elect the Democratic candidates; because, although a Republican majority in the Legislature was considered certain, a majority of Chandler men in the Republican Senatorial caucus was not so sure and yet was absolutely essential to ensure Mr. Chandler's reelection. Mr. Chandler could better afford to reduce the Republican majority in the Legislature than to increase it with anti-Chandler Republicans whose votes in the Republican Senatorial caucus would have to be offset by an increased number of Chandler men.

The despotic power of the Chandler "Ring" was the subject of much hostile criticism. The *Advertiser and Tribune* of December 2, 1868, said: "There are State officers; there is another U. S. Senator; there are six Congressmen for this State and leading Republicans in all parts of it—but what are they? The Republican party of Michigan is for Mr. Chandler, not for them. Only such nominations must be made, only such men elected, as will promote his personal fortunes and

5. *Advertiser and Tribune*, Dec. 2, 1868.

continuance in office. Other men must be defeated and kept down, because if they rise, Mr. Chandler sinks. No man but a personal adherent of Mr. Chandler is to hold office in this State if he can help it. Everybody who has the temerity to oppose Mr. Chandler is denounced for political treachery and a combined attempt to break him down in his political character and standing and even personal assault and indignity have been resorted to to intimidate or silence opposition."

"Square Truth" wrote:⁶ "The fact is, Mr. Chandler's strength has grown out of this very spirit of usurpation which for the last eight or ten years has characterized him in his political intercourse with the Republicans of this State. He it was who first assumed to frame and hang up the political slate in Detroit—and a Slate not for all Federal, but for all State and even county and township offices. With a royal-like assumption, he straightway essayed to make and unmake public men, and to write out, through years to come, all candidates for public preferment. 'Whom he would he slew and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down.' *By the grace of Zach. Chandler* men went to Congress, and the Legislature. *By the grace of Zach. Chandler* men were made Governors, Lieutenant Governors and State Treasurers, and by the same royal courtesy they became Collectors and Assessors of the Revenue..... poor Sinbad Michigan! The Man of the Sea is upon your shoulders and he means to ride just so long as he in his good pleasure desires thus to amuse himself."

6. Letter from "Square Truth," *Advertiser and Tribune*, December 26.

Mr. Chandler's personal habits met with severe criticism. The Puritan wing of the Republican party called for his retirement on the ground that his habits were immoral. The *Northwestern Christian Advocate* cried,⁷ "No drunkard in Office." A writer from St. Johns declared,⁸ "He is given to the use of profane language and intoxicating drink." The *Advertiser and Tribune* observed,⁹ "A public man must also greatly influence the young.....If his example is pernicious and yet he is elevated and honored, it will be an invitation to young men to practice vice."

No doubt Mr. Chandler was well lied about, but that there was at least some basis of truth in the widely circulated reports in regard to his use of liquor is evident from an editorial in the *Post*,¹⁰ the Chandler organ, which says, "Some years ago, during the fierce excitement and military habits of the war, there is no doubt Mr. Chandler was less carefully abstemious than he is now." The *Post*, however, declared that he had reformed. The *Nation* notes¹¹ that Gen. Benj. Butler published a certificate testifying to Mr. Chandler's sobriety. Whether this was regarded as convincing testimony by the people of Michigan is perhaps problematical.

But in spite of disappointed office-seekers jealous of Mr. Chandler's political autocracy, and the admitted fact that his habits were hardly consistent with a party which claimed to be "the party of great

7. Quoted in *Advertiser and Tribune*, Dec. 4.

8. Quoted in *Advertiser and Tribune*, Dec. 10.

9. Quoted in *Advertiser and Tribune*, Nov. 21.

10. *Post*, Dec. 9.

11. *Nation*, Jan. 14, 1869.

moral ideas," Mr. Chandler was still a power among the voters of the State: his personality appealed to them. "Jensen" wrote:¹² "I pass to . . . the more reasonable objection of want of culture, and great intellectual endowment. In its technical sense, I do not claim that for Mr. Chandler. It is well for him that it is not so. It is the *bane* of most of our so-called scholars and great men that they are scarcely ever *energetically* or *violently* great. Occupied much of the time in passionless and abstract thought, they are illy qualified for many of those practical duties without which even Statesmanship fails of its highest development. Now, it appears to me, that we are in one of those crises which demand of our Senatorial nominee more of the *qualities* than of the mere *powers* of intellect. . . . For my part, I want a man in the U. S. Senate from Michigan (no matter what his acquirement) who can neither be *bought*, *sold* nor *scared*. Twelve years of public life entitles at least *this* to be averred of Zachariah Chandler." And the *Adrian Times*¹³ declared: "We want no doubtful man to represent our State in the Senate and for this reason, if for no other, we advocate Mr. Chandler's re-election."

The inside history¹⁴ of this Senatorial contest is decidedly interesting. Mr. Chandler fully realized that a coalition between the two most promising

12. *Post*, Dec. 2.

13. As quoted in the *Post*, Dec. 2.

14. My statements are based upon the following: Ms letter, Allen Potter to J. M. Howard, dated Jan. 12, 1869, in *Howard MSS*; Letters of A. Blair and Dr. Geo. W. Fish, published in *Advertiser and Tribune* Jan. 11, 1871; an interview with E. W. Barber of Jackson, Mich.; and contemporary newspapers.

candidates outside of Detroit, Austin Blair of Jackson and Thomas W. Ferry of Grand Haven, might prove disastrous to his own candidacy. He therefore laid plans to break up the opposition." Three friends of Mr. Chandler made a proposition to Austin Blair asking him to support Mr. Chandler in January, 1869, and promising in return Mr. Chandler's support of Mr. Blair for the Senate in January, 1871, when a successor to Jacob M. Howard was to be selected. It was the ambition of Austin Blair's life to go to Washington as United States Senator from Michigan. This overture from Mr. Chandler gave him the opportunity to realize this ambition, but he rejected it. Austin Blair was a man who possessed many admirable qualities, honesty and patriotism, but he lacked political acumen. He could not read men and he surrounded himself with advisers whose wire-pulling abilities were as meager as his own.

Having failed with Mr. Blair, Mr. Chandler turned to T. W. Ferry. Mr. Ferry agreed to a proposition the terms of which were identical with those rejected by Mr. Blair.

Of course the agreement between Mr. Chandler and Mr. Ferry was a secret. Mr. Blair knew nothing of it and seemingly never suspected it. He entered into an alliance with Mr. Ferry to join forces, defeat Mr. Chandler and elect a Senator outside of the Detroit "Ring." Mr. Ferry therefore was bound secretly to both Chandler and the opposition interests.

Mr. Blair went to Lansing in January, 1869, expecting to meet Mr. Ferry as agreed. Mr. Ferry remained at home. The delegates from Mr. Ferry's



AUSTIN BLAIR

From the oil portrait in the Capitol, Lansing.

district, without notifying the Blair men, went into consultation. The first question submitted was, shall we present the name of Mr. Ferry for the Senate? To this every member responded, No. The second and only other proposition submitted to this meeting was for each member to express his first choice for a candidate. To this, one responded Blair and every other voted for Chandler. Mr. Ferry then had been true to Zach. Chandler and had left Governor Blair in the lurch. Governor Blair soon saw that he had no chance and returned to Jackson.

There were still some 24 votes in opposition to Mr. Chandler. These were won over by the lobby. Of this lobby a writer in the *Advertiser and Tribune*¹⁵ said: "We saw these veterans at Lansing twelve years ago. How few of them die! How fresh they look! On Tuesday evening Mr. Chandler, our political leviathan, accompanied by a retinue that might have been mistaken in its immensity for the Israelites who remembered longingly the flesh-pots of Egypt, filed into Capitol Avenue! It was a real army, of two hundred strong, and every train for the succeeding twenty-four hours brought additions until there was such a lobby as the oldest inhabitants never beheld. We bow in admiration to it. "Stupendous" is the only term that will describe it. It overflowed everywhere. It bore down on the astounded legislators like a cavalry charge. All the evening—nearly all night—all the next day, with Briarean hands it was leading member after member, who had previously been put through from eight to ten distinct courses of

15. January 7, 1869.

lobby, to the rooms of the great chief, where post-offices and consulates were flung about in such profusion that a man going upstairs in the vicinity was likely to be hit! The industry and assurance of the lobby were equal to its dimensions. It was a jolly lobby, and had its laughing section, which exploded like incessant peals of artillery. Humorous as was the outward aspect of this veteran lobby, made up of the picked politicians of the State, every one of whom could lay a wire with artistic precision and trace it until it grew as fine as Wollaston's experimental gossamer, it was tremendously effective. It literally swallowed up the opposition."

"C. K. B." wrote in the same paper,¹⁶ "It has consisted of two divisions—the bully raggers and the honey fuglers. The bully raggers have talked loud and long and conducted their campaign on the Chinese plan of frightening the enemy by a tremendous noise. The honey fuglers have been bland, oily and insinuating and they have done the quiet button-holing and the closeting. This lobby has achieved, however, a triumph beyond its most sanguine expectations and it therefore vanishes to-morrow in a blaze of glory."

The Republicans met in caucus on the evening of January 6. On the first (and only) informal ballot, Mr. Chandler received 78 out of 96 votes. His nomination was then made unanimous.¹⁷ The Republicans having a majority in the Legislature, Mr. Chandler was assured of a third term of six years in the United States Senate.

16. *Advertiser and Tribune*, January 8, 1869.

17. *Advertiser and Tribune*, January 7, 1869.

CHAPTER XIII

GRANT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1872

MR. CHANDLER was a firm believer in the protective principle. During the winter of 1868-69 he succeeded in getting through the Senate a high tariff on copper. The copper tariff also passed the House, to the great joy of the Lake Superior region. At Houghton, guns were fired, whistles blown and bon-fires lighted, but the celebration was premature—Johnson vetoed the bill.

In April, 1869, Mr. Chandler made a fiery speech in the Senate, and offered a resolution¹ to the effect that the President be authorized to negotiate with England for the transfer of the British possessions in North America and the consequent abandonment by the United States of all claims against her. On motion of Mr. Sumner the resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Soon after the inauguration of President Grant, Mr. Chandler took occasion to punish his enemies and reward his friends by whose help he had been returned to the Senate.² George Jerome was made Collector of the Port at Detroit. Mr. Jerome was personally very popular with the voters of the State

1. April 17, 1869, *Globe*, 1st Sess. 41st Cong., pp. 727-731.

2. This account is based upon the following: *Advertiser and Tribune*, April 9, 1869; April 15, April 20, May 14, Aug. 20, 1870; and January 3, 1871.

and possessed great political influence. He belonged to the "good-fellow" type of politician, and of him it was said,³ "Everyone says he has carried Chandler on his shoulders from the outset of his, Chandler's, political career. I have no doubt he has been Chandler's mainstay." Mr. James M. Edmunds, perhaps the most astute politician in Michigan and Mr. Chandler's right-hand man, was made Postmaster at Washington, D. C. Mr. William A. Howard's reward for long and faithful service was an appointment as Minister to China; he declined this, however, to accept the land agency and attorneyship for the G. R. & I. Railroad. The District Attorneyship was given to Mr. A. B. Maynard. Mr. H. B. Rowson, editor of the *Hillsdale Standard*, a paper that had vigorously supported the election of Senator Chandler, became Collector of Internal Revenue. The new Indian Agent, Mr. Brockway of Calhoun County, had lobbied for Mr. Chandler at Lansing in January, 1869. Another lobbyist, Mr. Edward Lefavour, was made a Special Treasury Agent at \$6.00 per day. Hon. George Swift of Wayne, at first an opponent of Mr. Chandler's reelection but later one of his most conspicuous supporters, was appointed Consul at Windsor, Canada. The office-holders who had supported Austin Blair now came up for punishment. Samuel Lacey was turned out of the Marshall post-office; Mr. Kingsbury, Postmaster at Grand Rapids lost his head in spite of the protest of Mr. T. W. Ferry. It is unnecessary to complete the list. The test of fidelity

3. MS letter, Judge J. J. Speed to J. M. Howard, dated Feb. 9, 1869, *Howard Papers*, Vol. 91.

to the Republican party in Michigan was loyalty to Zachariah Chandler. He dominated the whole Michigan delegation in Congress and every appointment and removal was one directed or authorized by him.

In May, 1869, Mr. Chandler in company with his wife and daughter left for Europe. Mr. Chandler had wealth and he liked to spend it. Just how much truth there was in the newspaper reports that he took along "four negro servants" is hard to say. According to report, two of these were men to take care of the Senator; the two women were to divide their attentions between the two ladies of his family. The men wore coats resplendent in gold embroidery, grape-vines worked up the backs, and the Chandler coat-of-arms on the coat-tails; their hats were of black silk and decorated with large silver cockades. The ladies wore the coat-of-arms and the Chandler "C" on their belt buckles. A good many stories were told about Mr. Chandler's experiences abroad. On one occasion, it is said,⁴ he was engaged in conversation with an English notable who asked why it was that the Americans felt such resentment towards England while they did not complain of France that had tried to induce England to join her in recognizing the Confederacy. "Oh," replied the Senator bluntly, "we don't care a brass farthing what other nations say; its only what they do. France did not hurt us any; but you did." "But," urged the Englishman, "suppose we had listened to Napoleon; the result might have been different, you know." "How differ-

4. *Free Press*, May 8, 1870.

ent?" "Why, you know, the Confederates might have won the fight." "I don't know any such thing," replied the Senator. "How? You don't mean that the sword of England would not have turned the scale!" cried the amazed John Bull. "Why, look here," retorted the Senator, "How large an army has England got, anyhow? How many troops could England put into the field?" "Perhaps sixty thousand regulars." "Sixty thousand! Why Gen. Grant in one battle at the Wilderness killed sixty thousand men in four days and in a week the ranks were full again. If the whole British Army had been there they would have hindered one of our half-dozen armies just four days; that's all, Sir!"

On January 31, 1870, Mr. Chandler spoke on the Currency bill. He was a rigid opponent of inflation and his influence in maintaining a sound currency was important.

During the debate on the Funding bill, Mr. Chandler spoke against a proposition to establish an agency abroad for the payment of interest on the national debt. "Mr. President," he said,⁵ "it is more a matter of pride than anything else. If we propose to take our stand among the first nations of the earth, it is beneath our dignity as a great nation to make our interest payable anywhere except at the Treasury of the United States."

On April 19, 1870,⁶ Mr. Chandler offered a resolution in the Senate directing the President to appoint commissioners to negotiate with the people of Winnipeg

5. March 9, 1870, *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 41st Cong., p. 1788.

6. *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 41st Cong., 2808.



LETITIA GRACE (DOUGLASS) CHANDLER

Wife of Zachariah Chandler.

on the subject of annexation to the United States. On the 22nd he supported this by a speech⁷ in which he said,

“We are to-day the strongest military power on earth. . . . This continent is ours and we may as well notify the world now as at any future time that we will fight for our own. . . . We have been forbearing toward Great Britain; we have been forbearing toward all the world; but the time has now arrived to assert the Monroe Doctrine. The time has arrived or nearly arrived when we shall say to all the world, ‘Hands off this continent; it is ours, and we intend to possess our own.’ ”

The evening of May 21, the Senate met for an all night struggle over the bill to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment. Mr. Chandler’s efforts in behalf of the bill are evidenced by the following letter:⁸

“Friend Howard,

“The cops are acting as meanly as they know how come up *at once* & help us out dont fail.

(Signed) “Z. CHANDLER.

“Hon. J. M. Howard,

“3 A. M.”

On the back of this letter is a note by Mr. Howard:

“Hon. Z. Chandler, May 21, 70 On the bill to enforce the 15th amendt—is in a hurry—I got out of

7. *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 41st Cong., p. 2288.

8. *Howard MSS.*

bed, went to the Senate & we passed the bill at 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ A. M. & adjourned."

On the 28th, Mr. Chandler made a speech⁹ in favor of the annexation of San Domingo. In December¹⁰ he made a violent attack upon Sumner for criticizing President Grant and the San Domingo scheme. A few days later Mr. Chandler wrote¹¹ to Charles T. Gorham of Marshall:

"Sumner made a malicious attack upon the President and was properly rebuked..... Sumner has no common sense he is overstocked with *uncommon* sense &... .[?] with *one grain* of common sense would make a splendid man but the lack is *fatal*. The President is doing splendidly is as sound a Republican as you or I & on the whole the best....[?] *two Year Old* I ever knew."

Of Grant's first Administration it was said:¹² "He has sat by and seen the Country tolerably well governed." Among the men who dominated the President—Morton, Chandler, Conkling, Cameron and Butler—Mr. Chandler was one of the most influential. He was always ready to smoke a cigar, take a drink, play a game of cards or tell a good story. His aggressiveness, high spirits and talkativeness were a decided contrast to Grant's quiet ways and made them personally very congenial. Undoubtedly Mr.

9. May 28, 1870, *Globe*, 2nd Sess. 41st Cong., p. 408.

10. Dec. 21, 1870, *Globe*, 3rd Sess. 41st Cong., p. 241-3.

11. MS letter dated Jan. 7, 1871.

12. Springfield *Republican*, Nov. 24, 1871.

Chandler's influence over Grant was used to further a harsh policy towards the South, a jingoistic and expansionist policy abroad and opposition to civil service reform at home. No man was more active in bringing about the removal of Mr. Sumner from the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and substituting Simon Cameron than was Mr. Chandler. As a member of the "Ku Klux Committee" he was active in bringing out information which would show the necessity of keeping the South in subjection. In 1872 he opposed abolishing the moiety system in connection with the collection of the tariff and internal revenue—a system valuable for corrupt office-holders who desired graft, but an obstacle in the way of reform of the customs service. He voted on March 7, 1872, for an amendment to the Legislative Appropriation bill to repeal all laws and regulations establishing civil service reform and competitive examinations. This amendment was laid on the table on motion of Senator Trumbull by a vote of 40 to 19—Cameron, Chandler and Carpenter were among the 19.

Mr. Chandler was personally honest. His bitterest enemies never ventured to suggest, seriously, that he ever touched a penny of the public money that did not belong to him. But he was a practical politician. He opposed civil service reform because it would interfere with the patronage. He had grown accustomed to the political methods which some men were now trying to remedy and he liked them; they had served him well and with them he hoped to keep the power that he had.

The Senatorial contest of January, 1871, resulted

in the election of Thomas W. Ferry of Grand Haven to succeed Jacob M. Howard. "The real contest was between Ferry and Blair, as location was made the one important thing in the contest," wrote¹³ Mr. Chandler to his friend C. T. Gorham. The Blair-Fish letter no doubt had considerable influence.¹⁴ Dr. Fish had written a letter to Blair describing the deal between Ferry and Chandler which resulted in the sudden withdrawal of Ferry in January, 1869, and the election of Chandler to the Senate. In reply Mr. Blair wrote to Fish a letter in which he declared that Howard "has been the right bower of all the corrupt rings here" and expressed his opinion in regard to the leading Republican politicians by the words, "a lot of corrupt scoundrels." This letter was confidential and was surreptitiously taken from Dr. Fish's desk and published in the *Free Press*. As a result, Mr. Blair found himself not only politically but personally hated by the dominant Ring. They fought him bitterly. When J. M. Howard found his own chances of reelection gone he threw most of his vote in favor of Ferry, with the result that Blair's political prestige suffered a blow from which it never recovered.

The campaign of 1872¹⁵ in Michigan was a contest between the Radical Republicans on the one hand and the Liberal Republicans and Democrats acting in harmony on the other. The radicals declared that the problems growing out of the war constituted the most

13. MS letter dated Jan. 7, 1871.

14. On this see *Advertiser and Tribune*, Jan. 11, 1871.

15. For a fuller account of this campaign see H. M. Dilla, *Politics of Michigan, 1865-1878*, in *Columbia University Studies*, XLVII, No. 1, pp. 129-147.

vital issue before the nation. They congratulated themselves upon their record and declared that they were the only party that could be trusted to keep the Government from the hands of those who had tried to break up the Union. The Liberal Republicans and the Democrats insisted that the war was over; that the "bloody-shirt" had been waved long enough, that amnesty should be promptly granted to former rebels; that the Radical Administration was full of corruption and had failed to meet the new issues of reform.

During the campaign of 1872, Mr. Blair joined the Liberal Republicans. In a speech at Marshall¹⁶ he declared that the old Republican party had failed to meet the new issues of reform and that the ring in national politics was but a *replica* of a ring which had dominated the Republican party of Michigan for years.

Mr. Chandler, of course, denounced the cry of reform. At Orange, N. J.,¹⁷ he said: "What are they howling for reform for? We have it now. There is hardly a man who is setting up his cry for reform who is not a corrupt scoundrel or a thief. What is Lyman Trumbull?.....How about Doolittle?" At Adrian, Michigan,¹⁸ he accused Austin Blair of dishonesty in office. Mr. Chandler's stump speeches usually opened with a funny story. His favorite story during the campaign of 1872 ran something like

16. *Detroit Tribune*, July 15, 1872.

17. *New York Times*, Aug. 25, 1872, McPherson's *Campaign of 1872*, IV, 58, 59.

18. Aug. 2, 1872, *Adrian Times*, Aug. 3, McPherson's *Campaign of '72*, Vol. III.

this:¹⁹ "During the war a private in an Illinois regiment went into a drinking saloon, where he found a man in chaplain's uniform, evidently much inebriated, who asked him what regiment he belonged to. 'The 19th Illinois,' was the answer. 'What do you belong to?' The drunken man straightened up and replied, 'I belong to the Army of the Lord, Sir!' 'Well,' said the soldier, 'that may be, but to my thinking you are a thunderin' ways from headquarters!' Now any man who supports the nominees of the Baltimore convention must, if he claims to be a Republican, be 'a thunderin' ways from headquarters.' "

Of course Mr. Chandler compared the records of the Republican and Democratic parties, waved the "bloody-shirt," praised Grant and ridiculed Greeley. He had no doubt as to the outcome. As early as August 24, 1871, he wrote to C. T. Gorham:²⁰ "The political outlook was never so good as at present. Our enemies are doing the work *better* than we could. In fact, if we make no mistakes the battle of 1872 is already fought and won. There will be little or no opposition to President Grant's renomination except for Sumner and Schurz & their prestige is gone. Schurz has gone to the C——Democracy & taken Missouri with him & can do us no more harm. Sumner will grumble and growl and support the. . . . [?]"

In July, 1872, he again wrote to Mr. Gorham:²¹ "The political outlook for Grant is good and growing better. We have every reason to believe that the

19. Speech at Norembega Hall, Bangor, Maine, July, 1872.
McPherson's *Campaign of '72*, III, 11-12.

20. MS letter.

21. MS letter.

percentage of Republicans who will support Greeley will be very small while on the other hand many democrats will vote for Grant as preferable to Greeley & many more will not vote at all. The colored men will vote as a unit for Grant although the Greeleyites are making desperate efforts to carry them over to the other side. The contest promises to be a very personal one & abuse without limit will be poured on the heads of the prominent characters of both parties. The Democrats are making the most desperate efforts to win & the Republicans are equally determined that their ancient enemies with their allies shall gain nothing in the way of office, power or control of national affairs. You have doubtless heard of the defection of Austin Blair. This was not expected. He waited until it was morally certain that Greeley would be nominated by the Democrats at Baltimore and then with a great parade of mock virtuous indignation he deserted the Republican camp & threw himself into the expectant arms of the Democracy. It is believed that they have made some fine promises & will nominate him either for Governor or for Congress—It is immaterial to the old National Republican party of Michigan what they do with their newly found political treasure. He will be flattened out completely and permanently in a political sense whenever our people have the opportunity to be heard at the ballot-box. His old friends and the Republican Press throughout the State including the Jackson Citizen condemn Mr. Blair's course in emphatic terms & his following will doubtless be very small. The people of Michigan are

too thoroughly imbued with Republican principles to give them up for the husks of Democracy."

Mr. Chandler's most sanguine expectations were fully realized. The Republican majority for Grant in Michigan was over 55,000. Even the Democratic strongholds of Detroit and Wayne County were redeemed at last.

CHAPTER XIV

GRANT'S SECOND TERM AND MR. CHANDLER'S DEFEAT IN 1875

MR. CHANDLER had the good sense to vote against the Salary Grab bill and to speak in opposition to the increase in the pay of Senators and Representatives. Of course Mr. Chandler's living expenses in Washington far exceeded the amount of his salary as Senator. His house in Washington was situated in the most fashionable quarter; his annual expense at the Capital was not far from \$35,000 or \$40,000. Washington correspondents waxed eloquent over his "coach and footman" and the "livery" of his house servants which included silver buttons mounted with the Chandler "C." The *debut* of Mr. Chandler's only daughter was a most gorgeous affair and was described by Mark Twain in a very amusing letter to the *Chicago Republican*.¹

On January 20, 1874, Mr. Chandler made a speech² in the Senate against inflation of the currency by further issues of greenbacks and advocated an immediate resumption of specie payments. As a war measure, Mr. Chandler had voted for an issue of greenbacks in 1862 and 1865, but his natural shrewdness showed him the fallacy of inflating the currency. He wrote

1. Reprinted in *Detroit Post*, February 20, 1868 and *Free Press*, February 22, 1868.
2. *Globe*, 1st Sess. 43rd Cong., p. 777-8.

to C. T. Gorham,³ "I have heartily opposed inflation at every point, but if the inflationists succeed in controlling our financial policy, suppose I can endure living in a balloon as long as any of them."

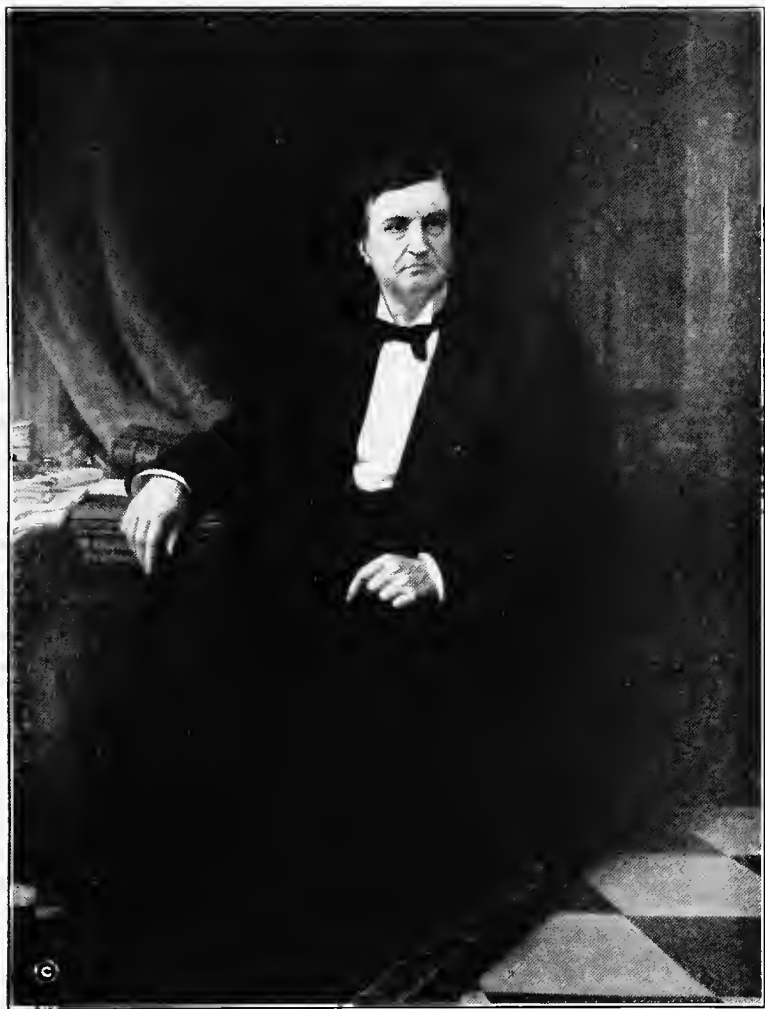
The death of Charles Sumner left Chandler the senior Senator in continuous service. Hamlin and Cameron entered the Senate with Chandler in 1857, but both had been out for a period since then.⁴

The campaign of 1874 was of great importance to Chandler because his term in the Senate expired March 4, 1875, and it was to the Legislature elected in 1874 that he had to look for reelection.

The schism made in the Republican ranks by the Liberal Republican movement in 1872 reappeared in the organization of the Republican opposition as a National Reform party in 1874. Criticism of the Administration by both National Reformers and Democrats consisted of charges of corruption, extravagance in national expenditures and usurpation of power in interfering with the States lately in rebellion. The Salary Grab Act, the Credit Mobilier scandal, the Press-Gag law, and many other instances of radical evil-doing were made the most of by the opposition parties. It was also declared that the radicals were determined to give Grant a third term and that the patronage of the National Government was corruptly used to maintain the old party in power. The campaign gives evidence of a wide-spread feeling of dissatisfaction with the still unsatisfactory conditions in the lately reconstructed States and the corruption

3. April 1, 1874. MS letter.

4. *Detroit Tribune*, March 14, 1874.



ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

From the oil portrait in the Capitol, Lansing.

among men who held high office in the nation's capital. Men were growing weary of the ceaseless cry of the Radicals against those who had brought on the rebellion. They felt that the South had been punished enough and they were anxious to bring peace to the people who had suffered so much for their mistaken convictions.

The condition of the currency too was a matter for anxious thought. The country was suffering from the effects of the panic of 1873 and all parties were split into factions occupying diverse views on the desirability of inflating the currency by further issues of greenbacks or the advisability of resuming specie payments and maintaining the currency on a "sound money" basis. The State conventions of all the parties in Michigan were so convinced of the hopelessness of uniting their followers upon any common ground respecting the currency question that they all adopted platforms so vague in their terms on this point that both hard-money and soft-money men could read them with hope if not with confidence. In the Republican party in Michigan the seriousness of this diversity in its ranks is shown by the fact that the two Senators occupied diverse positions upon the money question: Mr. Chandler demanded hard money and the immediate resumption of specie payments; Mr. Ferry demanded inflation by further issues of greenbacks. In his campaign speeches, Mr. Chandler, who knew his Bible well, quoted from the Scriptures to prove that the Liberal Republican party was of ancient origin—was, in fact, born in the Cave of Abdullam. The Democratic press ridiculed these "ser-

mons" and redoubled their attacks upon Mr. Chandler's personal habits.

The tidal-wave of 1874 wrought havoc with the Republican party of Michigan. They secured a bare majority in the Legislature. The Senate had 18 Republicans and 14 Democrats; in the House there were 53 Republicans and 47 Democrats.⁵ Immediately following the election the Senatorial question began to be widely discussed. The *Detroit Tribune* led the opposition to Mr. Chandler. This paper admitted that on the questions growing out of the war and slavery, Mr. Chandler's votes and speeches had been on the right side; it acknowledged that no trait of personal venality attached to him; but it declared that he had identified himself with an obnoxious system of party management which had resulted in wide-spread discontent with the Republican party; he represented the spoils system and opposed reform; he was a machine politician; he dominated the "Ring" in Michigan and was associated with Butler in Washington.⁶

Mr. Chandler was already "organizing victory." As early as August 12, he wrote⁷ to Charles T. Gorham, an able lieutenant of Marshall, but at this time United States Minister to the Netherlands:

"Political matters are looking very well throughout the State but I shall want you here of course as your influence will be important & we make it a rule never to lose anything by inattention and neglect."

An illuminating incident came out in connection

5. *Detroit Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1874.

6. *Tribune*, Nov. 27, 1874.

7. MS letter.

with a vacancy in the office of deputy collector at Wyandotte. There were of course numerous applicants for the place. Mr. Griffin, editor of the *Wyandotte Courier*, was among them. Being in Detroit about November 27, he called on Chandler's right-hand man, George Jerome, Collector at Detroit, who told him that his commission was in his safe but that its delivery depended upon Representative Ocobock's action in the election of a Senator. In other words Mr. Griffin was to become deputy collector in case he could influence the Representative from his district to vote for Mr. Chandler.⁸ In December, Mr. Reynolds, postmaster at Grand Haven, received⁹ a large number of newspaper clippings, arguing for the return of Mr. Chandler to the Senate, accompanied by a request that he secure their insertion in the *Grand Haven Herald*. Political assessments were of course levied on office-holders and so far as possible only Chandler men had been nominated for the Legislature.

Mr. Chandler's plan¹⁰ was to call a caucus of Re-

8. *Tribune*, Dec. 26, Dec. 30 and *Free Press*, Jan. 6, 1875.

9. *Detroit Tribune*, Dec. 29, 1874.

10. In writing this account of Mr. Chandler's defeat, I have relied upon the following sources:

a. The contemporary newspapers.

b. An interview with Mr. S. L. Kilbourne, a Democratic member of the Michigan Legislature in 1875.

c. A letter written me by Mr. LeRoy Parker of Batavia, N. Y., a Republican member from Branch County who voted against Mr. Chandler in 1875.

d. A letter from Rev. H. P. Collin of Coldwater, Michigan, who very kindly interviewed for me Mr. VanAiken, one of the seven Republicans who voted against Mr. Chandler's election.

publican members as soon as possible. He had a majority of the Republicans pledged to support him, and the Republicans were a majority in the Legislature. If he could get all of the Republicans into caucus and bind them to him by caucus action before the opposition had time to organize, he could win. But there were some Republicans in the Legislature that refused to attend the caucus and stood firm upon "no caucus dictation." Out of 71 Republican members of the Legislature only 59 signed the call and only 57 attended the caucus. The caucus was held on Thursday evening, January 7. Upon the first informal caucus ballot, Mr. Chandler received 52 votes; J. W. Childs, 3; Judge J. V. Campbell and Governor John J. Bagley 1 each. A motion was made, and put by a standing vote, to make the nomination unanimous; but one member, Bailey of Shiawassee, voted, No. The caucus, then, had bound 57 members to vote for Mr. Chandler; 67 were necessary to elect him. The men who stayed out of the caucus were Senator Jones of Branch, Representatives Billings and Parker of Genesee, Van Aiken and Robinson of Branch, West of Berrien, Hardin of Allegan, Garfield and Briggs of Kent, Copley of Van Buren, Neff of Wayne, Ludington of Huron, Ocobock of Wayne, and Taylor of Shiawassee. Both Ludington and Ocobock signed the caucus call, however, and voted for Chandler.

Mr. Chandler was on the ground early, with an immense lobby that attached itself to the recusant Republicans and attempted to influence them by every argument that ingenuity and skill could devise. Four Methodist ministers were conspicuous members of the

lobby and were useful in attacking men on their moral and spiritual side. Chandler agents were sent to kindle back-fires in the districts of the doubtful members and to circulate petitions urging them to vote for Chandler. Thomas J. West of Berrien, who came to Lansing an avowed anti-Chandler man, was won over¹¹ by a delegation of citizens from Benton Harbor imploring him not to vote against Chandler because Chandler, being Chairman of the Committee on Commerce, could get through a hoped-for appropriation for the Paw Paw River. Mr. West was taken by the delegation to Mr. Chandler's rooms and Mr. Chandler declared that the bill would receive his tenderest care. Nothing was said about Mr. West's vote, but Mr. West frankly told the minority that he should vote for Chandler, as he could in this way serve his constituents in a vital matter.

On January 19 the vote for United States Senator was taken, the two houses acting separately. In the Senate Mr. Chandler received a bare majority: 17 out of 32; in the House no one had a majority. On the following day the two Houses met in joint convention. On the first ballot, Mr. Chandler received 64 votes; the Democrats gave 60 votes for George V. N. Lothrop; I. P. Christiancy received 5 and J. Webster Childs, 3; total 132; necessary to a choice, 67. Mr. Chandler lacked but three votes of a majority. Of the 14 Republicans who refused to attend the caucus, seven had been won over and seven remained obdurate. Representative Garfield of Kent had surrendered only at the last moment. He was old and weak from sick-

11. *Tribune*, January 11, 1875.

ness and had been subjected to lobby pressure day and night. As he arose to vote he said, "Contrary to my own convictions but in response to a petition signed by 412 of my constituents, and to the persistent demands of a lobby twice as large, I vote for Zachariah Chandler."¹² On Wednesday, the 20th, then, no one had a majority, and the convention adjourned. On Thursday, the Legislature again met in joint convention. The Democrats, despairing of gaining the support of the Republican minority for a Democratic candidate, and fearful of another Chandler victory, now united with the seven anti-Chandler Republicans upon a compromise candidate, Isaac P. Christiancy, a conservative Republican and one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Michigan. The first ballot stood Christiancy 68, Chandler 63, Bagley 1. Before the clerk could announce the result, Chandler men, foreseeing the defeat of their candidate, began to change their votes to various Republicans in hope of attracting opposition votes and breaking the election. The plan failed. Zachariah Chandler was defeated at last.

Of the seven Republicans who voted against Mr. Chandler to the last, three were from Branch County. The Branch County men refused to sign the call or attend the caucus, and it was afterwards said that "Branch County killed Mr. Chandler." The Branch County members were opposed to the political system that he represented. They did not belong to the Chandler "Ring;" they were farmers who wanted a more democratic system of party management, and

12. *Michigan Argus*, Jan. 29, 1875.

they had a grievance. Cyrus G. Luce, a long-time resident of Gilead Township, Branch County, a farmer and a friend of the Branch County members of the Legislature, was opposed to Chandler. He believed, and they believed, that Mr. Chandler had cheated Mr. Luce out of a Republican nomination for State Treasurer by directing the tellers in the Republican Convention to announce fraudulently that a ballot for State Treasurer, by which Mr. Luce would have received the nomination, was void, there being more votes than delegates.

Representative Parker of Genesee opposed Mr. Chandler on account of his political methods. A letter from him reads:

"The State had been almost lost to the party that fall and I was confident that it was largely due to the too practical politics of Senator Chandler."

But back of all these reasons there lay a cause that is bound to overtake the most astute of politicians, and that is, the pushing of the younger element for recognition. These seven Republicans were young men, who resented the dominance of a ring of older politicians. Chandler had held office for eighteen years; he had his friends, tried and true, whom he kept in the most lucrative positions within his control. The young men wanted their share, and in 1875 they had an opportunity to throw down the barriers that had so long kept them from place and power.

Mr. Chandler felt greatly chagrined over his defeat, and took the first train for Washington. On February 17 he wrote to C. T. Gorham the following letter—

“United States Senate Chamber,
“Washington, Feb. 17, 1875.

“My Dear Sir,

“Your kind favor of the 20th of Dec. has been mislaid or would have received earlier reply.

“The Senatorial contest is over and the Democrats with a handful of bolting *quasi* Republicans have won the victory.

“They hope by this manœuvre to so demoralize the Republican party in the State, that it can be carried for the Democracy in 1876 but I shall do what I can to cause their victory to be a barren one to turn their rejoicings into lamentations, to see that their bright hopes, like Dead Sea fruit, turn to ashes on their lips.

“They also solace themselves with the idea that having been beaten in this contest, I will of course go into state of retirement, seldom if ever to be heard from again. In this they will meet with another great disappointment, for with a fair prospect of at least twenty years more of vigorous health I shall be able to make the working of their political plans an interesting puzzle to all parties in interest.

“Our work is plain but laborious. With unity, harmony and hard work we can still keep the Democratic forces training in the awkward squad while ours stand shoulder to shoulder.

“Very truly yours,

“Z. CHANDLER.

“Hon. C. T. Gorham.”

CHAPTER XV

SUMMARY OF MR. CHANDLER'S POLITICAL CAREER, 1875-1879

SOME of Mr. Chandler's most important work was done after his retirement from the Senate March 4, 1875. In October of that year he was appointed, by President Grant, Secretary of the Interior to succeed Mr. Delano. Mr. Chandler made many changes in the personnel of his Department, put a stop to the glaring frauds which existed there and introduced business methods of administration.¹

In the summer of 1876, Mr. Chandler was chosen Chairman of the National Republican Committee. He was the real director of the Hayes campaign, and the incongruity of the campaign of a civil service reform candidate directed by a dyed-in-the-wool spoilsman like Zachariah Chandler, did not escape comment.² On the morning after the election Mr. Chandler sent the following telegram³ over the wires of the Associated Press: "Rutherford B. Hayes has received one hundred and eighty-five electoral votes, and is elected."

1. George F. Hoar says in his *Autobiography of Seventy Years* (II, 75), "I knew him afterwards in the Department of the Interior. He was, in my judgment, the ablest administrative officer without an exception who has been in any executive department during my public life."

2. Letter of E. L. Godkin to C. E. Norton as given in Ogden's *Life of Godkin*, II, 112-113.

3. Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, II, 432; John Sherman's *Recollections of Forty Years*, I, 553.

There are men still living who believe that the final success of Hayes was due to the efficiency of Zachariah Chandler's political methods in manipulating the returning boards in the Southern States. Once elected, however, President Hayes appointed his Cabinet from the reforming element of his party, and Carl Schurz, to the chagrin of the radicals,⁴ succeeded Mr. Chandler in the Interior Department. On April 26, 1877, Mr. Chandler wrote⁵ to C. T. Gorham:

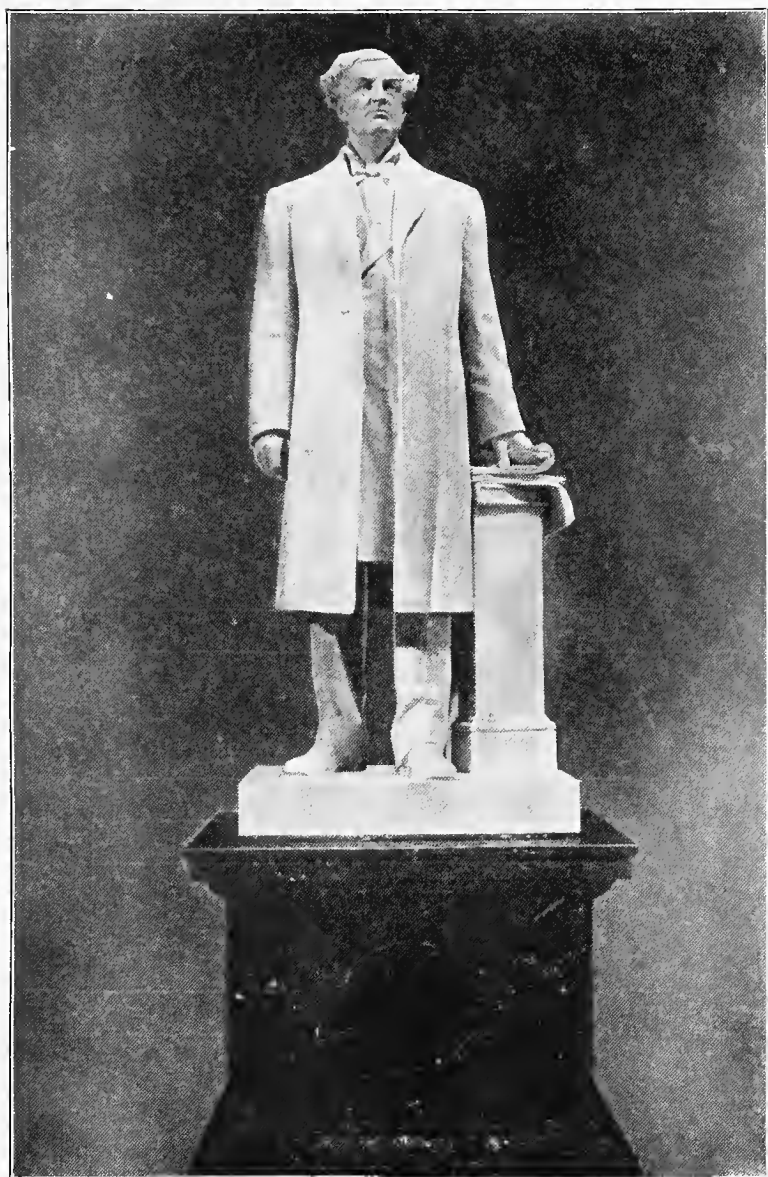
"The D——I is let loose for a season. The moment you & I left it was announced [?] that neither of us would return and the Indian Bureau thieves commenced their onslaught. Smith is run by the Chief Clerk and *I think* is captured by the thieves. At any rate he has recommended the most of them. Any one but you and I would say *let em come back* but I cannot consent even for our Glory to have it done Why should I desire [?] any [?] more of strife and confusion I *don't know*.

He wrote again to Mr. Gorham⁶ on May 9: "I am not a candidate for Christiancy's seat. I will not attempt to apologize for what has no apology. I will *not* fight the battles of 57, 8, 9 and 60 over again. Then I was in pistol and rifle practice and met the Rebs on equal ground now I am out of practice & am over 60 years of age. . . . Hayes has passed The Repub party over to its worst enemy. We have no hope for

4. *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, III, 375.

5. MS letter.

6. MS letter.



STATUE OF ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

In Statuary Hall, United States Capitol.

1878 even in Ohio & Indiana or Illinois but can & *will* beat them in 1880."

On February 18, 1879, Mr. Chandler was elected to the United States Senate to serve the unexpired term of I. P. Christiancy, resigned. Mr. Chandler's "Jeff. Davis Speech" of March 3, 1879, was the sensation of the close of the session. The Campaign of 1879 found Mr. Chandler again upon the stump. On October 31 he spoke at Chicago. That night he retired, as well, apparently, as usual. The following morning he was found dead in his bed at the Grand Pacific Hotel.

With the death of Zachariah Chandler a national figure passed away. His political position was more commanding during the summer of 1879 than ever before.⁷ Even in New England he was received with unbounded enthusiasm, and but for his sudden death he would have been among the most formidable candidates for the Presidency at the next election.⁸

7. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, II, 642.

8. George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, II, 76.

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